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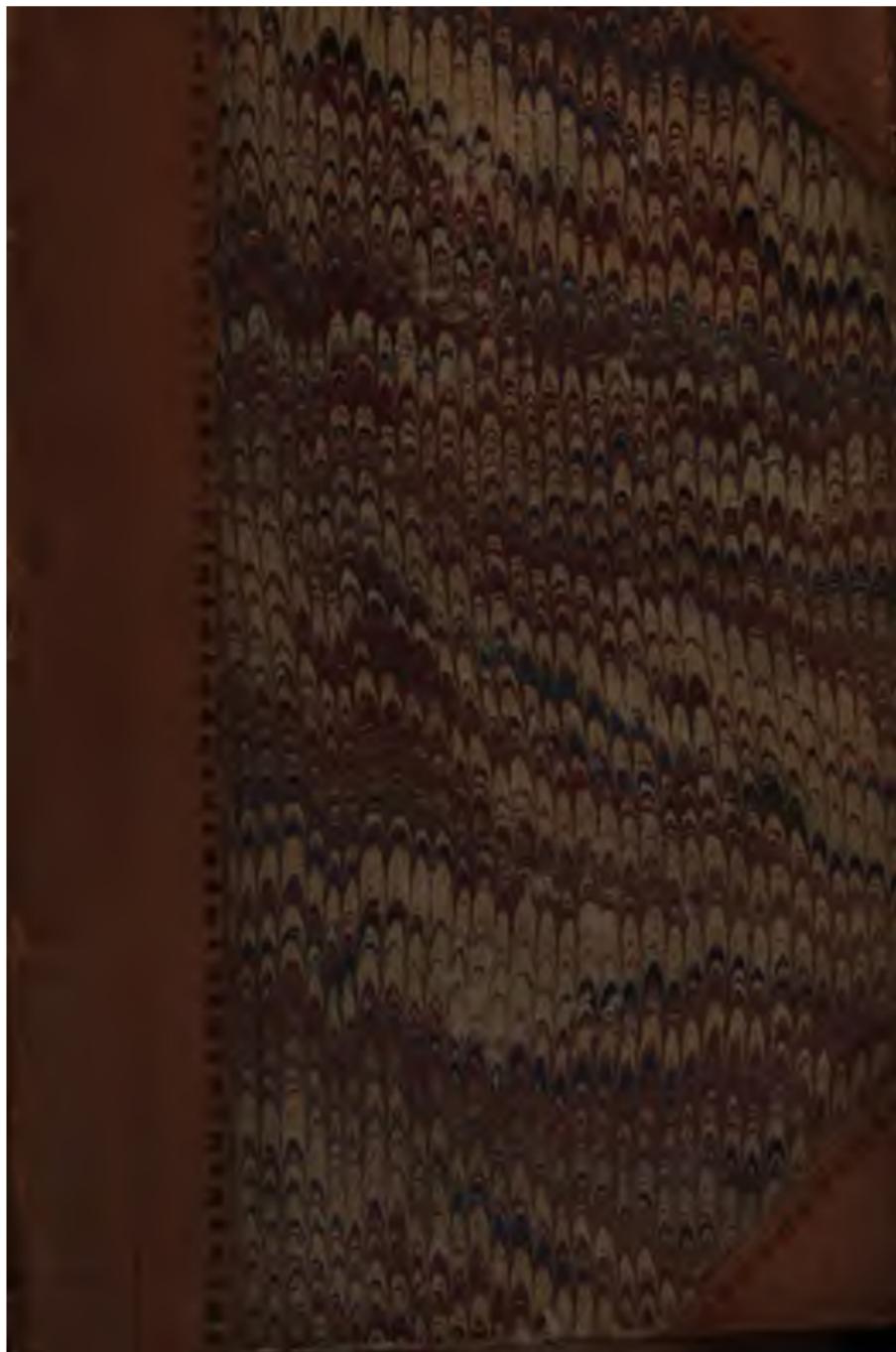
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NEW ELEGANT EXTRACTS.

PROSE.

VOL. II.

Whittingham's Edition.

ELEGANT EXTRACTS

FROM THE MOST EMINENT
PROSE WRITERS.

PART III. CHARACTERS.



THE DEATH OF JAMES III. p 136

Chiswick:
PRINTED BY AND FOR C. WHITTINGHAM,
COLLEGE HOUSE.

1827.

NEW ELEGANT EXTRACTS.

A

UNIQUE SELECTION,

MORAL, INSTRUCTIVE, AND ENTERTAINING,

FROM THE MOST EMINENT

Prose and Epistolary Writers.

BY

R. A. DAVENPORT, ESQ.

EDITOR OF WHITTINGHAM'S EDITION OF THE BRITISH POETS.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

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ELEGANT EXTRACTS.

PART III.

Characters.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS AND STATESMEN.

ATHELSTAN.

IN the year 940 Athelstan died, regretted by his subjects, and admired by the surrounding nations. He was of a slender habit, and middling stature. His hair, which was yellow, he wore in ringlets entwined with thread of gold. Among the higher orders of the nobility he maintained that reserve which became his superior station: to the lower classes of his subjects he was affable and condescending. From his father he had inherited a considerable treasure; but his liberality was not inferior to his opulence, and the principal use which he made of money was to enrich others. To his vassals he was accustomed to make valuable presents: the spoil collected in his military expeditions was always divided among his followers: and his munificence to the clergy was

proved by the churches which he erected or repaired. Neither ought his charities to be left unnoticed. He annually redeemed, at his private expense, a certain number of convicts, who had forfeited their liberty by their crimes; and his bailiffs were ordered, under severe penalties, to support a pauper of English extraction on every two of their farms. As a legislator he was anxious to suppress offences, to secure an impartial administration of justice, and to preserve the standard coin of the realm in a state of purity. With this view he held assemblies of the witan at Greatly, Faversham, Exeter, and Huddersfield: associations were formed under his auspices for the protection of property; and regulations were enacted respecting the apprehension, the trial, and the punishment of malefactors. Negligence in the execution of the laws was severely chastised. A thane paid to the crown a fine of sixty shillings; a superior magistrate was amerced in double that sum, with the forfeiture of his office. In his will he had chosen the abbey of Malmesbury for the place of his sepulture. There he had deposited the remains of his cousins *Ælfwin* and *Ethelwin*, who fell at Brunanburgh; and to the same place his own body was conveyed in solemn pomp, followed by a long train of prelates and nobles, and surrounded by the presents which he had bequeathed to the monastery.

LINGARD.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

If we estimate the character of a sovereign by the test of popular affection, we must rank Edward among the best princes of his time. The goodness of his heart was adored by his subjects, who lamented his death with tears of undissembled grief, and bequeathed his memory as an object of veneration to their posterity. The blessings of his reign are the constant theme of our ancient writers: not, indeed, that he displayed any of those brilliant qualities, which attract admiration, while they inflict misery. He could not boast of the victories which he had won, or of the conquests which he had achieved: but he exhibited the interesting spectacle of a king negligent of his private interests, and totally devoted to the welfare of his people; and by his labours to restore the dominion of the laws; his vigilance to ward off foreign aggression; his constant, and ultimately successful, solicitude to appease the feuds of his nobles; if he did not prevent the interruption, he secured at least a longer duration of public tranquillity than had been enjoyed in England for half a century. He was pious, kind, and compassionate: the father of the poor, and the protector of the weak: more willing to give than to receive; and better pleased to pardon than to punish. Under the preceding kings, force generally supplied the place of justice, and the people were impoverished by the rapacity of the sovereign. But Edward enforced the laws of his Saxon predecessors, and disdained

the riches which were wrung from the labours of his subjects. Temperate in his diet, unostentatious in his person, pursuing no pleasures but those which his hawks and hounds afforded, he was content with the patrimonial desmesnes of the crown; and was able to assert, even after the abolition of that fruitful source of revenue, the danegeld, that he possessed a greater portion of wealth than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. To him the principle that the king can do no wrong was literally applied by the gratitude of the people, who, if they occasionally complained of the measures of the government, attributed the blame not to the monarch himself, of whose benevolence they entertained no doubt, but to the ministers, who had abused his confidence, or deceived his credulity.

It was, however, a fortunate circumstance for the memory of Edward, that he occupied the interval between the Danish and Norman conquests. Writers were induced to view his character with more partiality from the hatred with which they looked on his successors and predecessors. *They* were foreigners, *he* was a native: they held the crown by right of conquest, *he* by descent: they ground to the dust the slaves whom they had made, *he* became known to his countrymen only by his benefits. Hence he appeared to shine with a purer light amid the gloom with which he was surrounded; and whenever the people under the despotism of the Norman kings had an opportunity of expressing their real wishes, they constantly called for the “laws and customs of the good king Edward.”

LINGARD.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

THERE is nothing more memorable in history than the actions, fortunes, and character of this great man ; whether we consider the grandeur of the plans he formed, the courage and wisdom with which they were executed, or the splendour of that success which, adorning his youth, continued without the smallest reverse to support his age, even to the last moments of his life. He lived above seventy years, and reigned within ten years as long as he lived ; sixty over his dukedom, above twenty over England ; both of which he acquired or kept by his own magnanimity, with hardly any other title than he derived from his arms ; so that he might be reputed, in all respects, as happy as the highest ambition, the most fully gratified, can make a man. The silent inward satisfactions of domestic happiness, he neither had, nor sought. He had a body suited to the character of his mind—erect, firm, large, and active ; whilst to be active was a praise ; a countenance stern, and which became command. Magnificent in his living, reserved in his conversation, grave in his common deportment, but relaxing with a wise facetiousness, he knew how to relieve his mind and preserve his dignity ; for he never forfeited by a personal acquaintance that esteem he had acquired by his great actions. Unlearned in books, he formed his understanding by the rigid discipline of a large and complicated experience. He knew men much, and therefore generally trusted them but little : but when he knew any man to be good, he reposed in him an

entire confidence, which prevented his prudence from degenerating into a vice. He had vices in his composition, and great ones; but they were the vices of a great mind: ambition, the malady of every extensive genius; and avarice, the madness of the wise: one chiefly actuated his youth, the other governed his age. The vices of young and light minds, the joys of wine, and the pleasures of love, never reached his aspiring nature. The general run of men he looked on with contempt, and treated with cruelty when they opposed him. Nor was the rigour of his mind to be softened but with the appearance of extraordinary fortitude in his enemies, which, by a sympathy congenial to his own virtues, always excited his admiration, and ensured his mercy. So that there were often seen in this one man, at the same time, the extremes of a savage cruelty, and a generosity that does honour to human nature. Religion too seemed to have a great influence on his mind, from policy, or from better motives; but his religion was displayed in the regularity with which he performed its duties, not in the submission he showed to its ministers, which was never more than what good government required. Yet his choice of a counsellor was, not according to the mode of that time, out of that order, and a choice that does honour to his memory. This was Lanfranc, a man of great learning for the times, and extraordinary piety. He owed his elevation to William; but, though always inviolably faithful, he never was the tool or flatterer of the power which raised him; and the greater freedom he showed, the higher he rose in the confidence of his master. By mixing with the

concerns of state he did not lose his religion and conscience, or make them the covers or instruments of ambition; but tempering the fierce policy of a new power by the mild lights of religion, he became a blessing to the country in which he was promoted. The English owed to the virtue of this stranger, and the influence he had on the king, the little remains of liberty they continued to enjoy; and at last such a degree of his confidence as in some sort counterbalanced the severities of the former part of his reign.

BURKE.

ROBERT AND WILLIAM RUFUS.

ROBERT, though in an advanced age at his father's death, was even then more remarkable for those virtues which make us entertain hopes of a young man, than for that steady prudence which is necessary when the short career we are to run will not allow us to make many mistakes. He had indeed a temper suited to the genius of the time he lived in, and which therefore enabled him to make a considerable figure in the transactions which distinguished that period. He was of a sincere, open, candid nature; passionately fond of glory, ambitious without having any determinate object in view; vehement in his pursuits, but inconstant; much in war, which he understood and loved. But guiding himself both in war and peace solely by the impulses of an unbounded and irregular spirit, he filled the world with an equal admiration and pity of his splendid qualities and great misfortunes.

WILLIAM was of a character very different. His views were short, his designs few, his genius narrow, and his manners brutal; full of craft, rapacious, without faith, without religion; but circumspect, steady and courageous for his ends, not for glory.

BURKE.

* * * *

Of the violent character of William, his rapacity, despotism, and voluptuousness, the reader will have formed a sufficient notion from the preceding pages. In person he was short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy complexion: from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or the red. In ordinary conversation his utterance was slow and embarrassed; in the hurry of passion precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty port, rolling his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavouring, by the tone of his voice and the tenor of his answers, to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself; and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses, by making them subjects of laughter.

LINGARD.

HENRY THE FIRST.

A CONTEMPORARY writer has left us the character of Henry as it was differently drawn by his friends and enemies after his death. By the former he was ranked among the wisest, richest,

and bravest of our monarchs : the latter loaded his memory with the reproach of cruelty, avarice, and incontinence. To an indifferent observer at the present day his reign will offer little worthy of praise, unless it be the severity with which he punished offences. This was a real benefit to his people, as it not only contributed to extirpate the robbers by profession, but also checked the rapacity and violence of the barons. Still his merit will be very equivocal. As long as each conviction brought with it a fine or forfeiture to the royal exchequer, princes were stimulated to the execution of the laws by a sense of personal interest. Henry, at the same time that he visited the injustice of others, scrupled not to commit injustice himself. Probably in both cases he had in view the same object, his own emolument.

The great aim of his ambition was to aggrandize his family by augmenting his possessions on the continent. His success in this favourite project obtained for him the reputation of political wisdom ; but it was purchased at the expense of enormous sums wrung from a suffering and impoverished people. If, however, the English thus paid for acquisitions in which they had little interest, they derived from them one advantage ; the king's attention to foreign politics rendered him anxious to preserve peace with his more immediate neighbours. He lived on the most friendly terms with Alexander and David, successively kings of Scotland. The former had married his natural daughter Sybilla : both were the brothers of his wife Matilda. It was more difficult to repress the active and predatory dis-

position of the Welsh : but as often as he prepared to chastise their presumption, they pacified his resentment by submission and presents. As a check to this restless people, he planted among them a powerful colony of foreigners. Many natives of Flanders had found settlements in England, under the protection of his mother Matilda ; and the number was now doubled by a crowd of emigrants, who had been driven from their homes by an inundation of the Rhine. Henry placed them at first on the right bank of the Tweed ; but afterwards, collecting the old and new comers into one body, allotted to them for their residence the town of Haverfordwest, with the district of Ross in Pembrokeshire. They were a martial and industrious people : by attention to the cultivation of the soil, and the manufacture of cloth, they grew in numbers and opulence : and under the protection of the English kings, to whom they always remained faithful, defeated every attempt of the Welsh princes to root them out of the country.

Henry was naturally suspicious ; and this disposition had been greatly encouraged by his knowledge of the clandestine attempts of his enemies. On one occasion the keeper of his treasures was convicted of a design on his life : on another, while he was marching in the midst of his army towards Wales, an arrow from an unknown hand struck him on the breast, but was repelled by the temper of his cuirass. Alarmed by these incidents, he always kept on his guard, frequently changed his apartments, and, *when he retired to rest, ordered sentinels to be*

stationed at the door, and his sword and shield to be placed near his pillow.

The suspicious are generally dissembling and revengeful. Henry seldom forgot an injury, though he would disguise his enmity under the mask of friendship. Fraud, and treachery, and violence, were employed to ensnare those who had greatly offended him; and their usual portion was death, or blindness, or perpetual imprisonment. After his decease it was discovered that his cousin the earl of Moretoil, whom he had long kept in confinement, had also been deprived of sight. Luke de Barré, a poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoner at the close of the last war, and sentenced by the king to lose his eyes. Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, was present, and remonstrated against so direful a punishment. It was not, he observed, the custom of civilized nations to inflict bodily punishment on knights who had drawn the sword in the service of their lord. "It is not," replied Henry, "the first time that he has been in arms against me. But what is worse, he has made me the subject of his satire; and in his poems has held me up to the derision of my enemies. From his example let other versifiers learn what they may expect, if they offend the king of England." The cruel mandate was executed: and the troubadour, in a paroxysm of agony, bursting from the hands of the officers, dashed out his brains against the wall.

His dissimulation was so well known that he was mistrusted even by his favourites. When Blott, bishop of Lincoln, who had for many

years been one of his principal justiciaries, was told that the king had spoken of him in terms of the highest commendation : “ Then,” he replied, “ I am undone ; for I never knew him praise a man whom he did not intend to ruin.” The event justified his apprehensions. In an unguarded moment the prelate had boasted that the monastery which he was building at Eyrsham should equal that which Henry had founded at Reading. The words were carried to the king, and the fall of the favourite was consummated. He was immediately deprived of the office of justiciary ; vexatious prosecutions were commenced against him ; by fines and extortions all his wealth was drawn to the royal exchequer : and the bishop would probably have been compelled to resign his dignity, had he not died by a sudden fit of apoplexy, as he was speaking to Henry.

Malmesbury has allotted to the king the praise of temperance and continency. Perhaps his claim to the first, certainly his claim to the second, of these virtues, rests on no other ground than the partiality of his panegyrist. If, as many writers affirm, his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate of a dish of lampreys, we may fairly doubt of his temperance : nor can the continency of that man be much commended, who is known to have been attached to several mistresses ; and of whose illegitimate children no fewer than seven sons and eight daughters lived to the age of puberty.

LINGARD.

STEPHEN.

THE character of Stephen at this period (his accession) has been drawn by his adversaries as well as his partisans : and if there be some difference in the colouring, the outlines of the two pictures are perfectly similar. It is admitted that he was prompt in decision, and bold in action ; that his friends applauded his generosity, and his enemies admired his forbearance ; that he won the high by courtesy, the low by condescension, all by an air of affability and benevolence. He had long been the most popular nobleman in England : and men were most inclined to favour the pretensions of one whom they loved. The royal treasures, which he distributed with profusion, while they confirmed the fidelity of his adherents, brought to his standard crowds of adventurers, who intimidated his enemies. Nor should it be forgotten, that there was a kind of spell in the very name of king, which he now bore : and that his claim was sanctified in the eyes of many by the imposing ceremony of his coronation.

LINGARD.

HENRY THE SECOND.

BETWEEN the conqueror and all his male descendants there existed a marked resemblance. The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid ; but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance

of the abdomen, which he sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, none perhaps in activity. He was perpetually in motion, on foot or on horseback. Every moment which could be spared from more important concerns he devoted to hunting; but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness: after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bed-time. During his education, in the castle of Gloucester, he had acquired a knowledge of letters; and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognised, at the first glance, every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent, affable, facetious; uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of the gentleman: but under this fascinating outside was concealed a heart that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honour and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises; yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim, that it is better to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favourite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity he would stop to *calculate* the chances against him, and frequently

plunged himself into real to avoid imaginary evils. Hence the characteristic feature of his policy was delay: a hasty decision could not be recalled: but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions he wished, says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favourites should owe every thing to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desires was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. In its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured forth a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach. On one occasion Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea, in justification of the king of Scots: Henry's anger was instantly kindled. He called Humet a traitor, *threw down his cap, ungirt his clothes,*

pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and, unable to do more mischief, sat down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character.

LINGARD.

RICHARD I.

IN many respects a striking parallel presents itself between this ancient king of England and Charles XII. of Sweden. They were both inordinately desirous of war, and rather generals than kings. Both were rather fond of glory than ambitious of empire. Both of them made and deposed sovereigns. They both carried on their wars at a distance from home. They were both made prisoners by a friend and ally. They were both reduced by an adversary inferior in war, but above them in the arts of rule. After spending their lives in remote adventures, each perished at last near home, in enterprises not suited to the splendour of their former exploits. Both died childless : and both, by the neglect of their affairs, and the severity of their government, gave their subjects provocation and encouragement to revive their freedom. In all these respects the two characters were alike ; but Richard fell as much short of the Swedish hero in temperance, chastity, and equality of mind, as he exceeded him in wit and eloquence. Some of his sayings are the most spirited that we find in that time ; and some of his verses remain, which in a barbarous age might have passed for poetry.

BURKE.

To a degree of muscular strength, which falls to the lot of few, Richard added a mind incapable of fear. Hence in the ancient annalists he towers as a warrior above all his contemporaries. Nor was this preeminence conceded to him by the Christians alone. Even a century after his death his name was employed by the Saracen cavalier to chide his horse, and by the Saracen mother to terrify her children. But when we have given him the praise of valour, his panegyric is finished. His laurels were steeped in blood, and his victories purchased with the impoverishment of his people. Of the meanness to which he could stoop to procure money, and the injustices into which he was hurried by the impetuosity of his passions, the reader has found numerous instances in the preceding pages. To his wife he was as faithless as he had been rebellious to his father. If in a fit of repentance he put away his mistress, there is reason to believe that his reformation did not survive the sickness by which it was suggested.

LINGARD.

JOHN.

THE arbitrary taxes, which he imposed very early in his reign, which offended even more by the improper use made of them than their irregularity, irritated the people extremely, and joined with all the preceding causes to make his government contemptible. Henry the Second, during his contest with the church, had the address to preserve the barons in his interests. Afterwards, when the

barons had joined in the rebellion of his children, this wise prince found means to secure the bishops and ecclesiastics. But John drew upon himself at once the hatred of all orders of his subjects. His struggle with the Pope weakened him ; his submission to the Pope weakened him yet more. The loss of his foreign territories, besides what he lost along with them in reputation, made him entirely dependent upon England ; whereas his predecessors made one part of their territories subservient to the preservation of their authority in another, where it was endangered. Add to all these causes the personal character of the king, in which there was nothing uniform or sincere, and which introduced the like unsteadiness into all his government. He was indolent, yet restless in his disposition ; fond of working by violent methods, without any vigour ; boastful, but continually betraying his fears ; showing, on all occasions, such a desire of peace as hindered him from ever enjoying it. Having no spirit of order he never looked forward ; content by any temporary expedient to extricate himself from a present difficulty. Rash, arrogant, perfidious, irreligious, unquiet, he made a tolerable head of a party, but a bad king ; and had talents fit to disturb another's government, not to support his own. A most striking contrast presents itself between the conduct and fortune of John and his adversary Philip. Philip came to the crown when many of the provinces of France, by being in the hands of too powerful vassals, were in a manner dismembered from the kingdom ; the *royal authority* was very low in what remained.

He reunited to the crown a country as valuable as what belonged to it before ; he reduced his subjects of all orders to a stricter obedience than they had given to his predecessors. He withstood the papal usurpation, and yet used it as an instrument in his designs ; whilst John, who inherited a great territory, and an entire prerogative, by his vices and weakness gave up his independency to the Pope, his prerogative to his subjects, and a large part of his dominions to the king of France.

BURKE.

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When Giraldus delineated the characters of the four sons of Henry, John had already debased his faculties by excess and voluptuousness. The courtly eye of the preceptor could indeed discover the germ of future excellence in his pupil ; but history has recorded only his vices : his virtues, if such a monster could possess virtues, were unseen or forgotten. He stands before us polluted with meanness, cruelty, perjury, and murder ; uniting with an ambition, which rushed through every crime to the attainment of its object, a pusillanimity which often, at the sole appearance of opposition, sank into despondency. Arrogant in prosperity, abject in adversity, he neither conciliated affection in the one, nor excited esteem in the other. His dissimulation was so well known, that it seldom deceived : his suspicion served only to multiply his enemies : and the knowledge of his vindictive temper contributed to keep open the breach between him and those who had incurred his displeasure. Seldom per-

haps was there a prince with a heart more callous to the suggestions of pity. Of his captives many never returned from their dungeons. If they survived their tortures, they were left to perish by famine. He could even affect to be witty at the expense of his victims. When Geoffry, arch-deacon of Norwich, a faithful servant, had retired from his seat at the exchequer on account of the interdict, the king ordered him to be arrested, and sent him a cope of lead to keep him warm in his prison. The cope was a large mantle, covering the body from the shoulders to the feet, and worn by clergymen during the service. Wrapped in this ponderous habit, with his head only at liberty, the unhappy man remained without food or assistance till he expired. On another occasion he demanded a present of ten thousand marks from an opulent Jew at Bristol, and ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every morning till he should pay the money. The Jew was obstinate. The executioners began with his double teeth. He suffered the loss of seven, but on the eighth day solicited a respite, and gave security for the payment.

John was not less reprehensible as a husband than he was as a monarch. While Louis took from him his provinces on the continent, he had consoled himself for the loss in the company of his beautiful bride: but he soon abandoned her to revert to his former habits. The licentiousness of his amours is reckoned by every ancient writer among the principal causes of the alienation of his barons, many of whom had to lament and revenge the disgrace of a wife, or daughter,

or sister. Isabella, to punish the infidelity, imitated the conduct of her husband. But John was not to be insulted with impunity. He hanged her gallants over her bed. She bore him three sons, Henry, Richard, and Edmund ; and three daughters, Jane, Eleanor, and Isabella. His illegitimate children were numerous. Nine sons and one daughter are mentioned by historians.

LINGARD.

HENRY III.

GENTLE and credulous, warm in his attachments, and forgiving in his enmities, without vices, but also without energy, he was a good man, and a weak monarch. In a more peaceful age, when the empire of the laws had been strengthened by habits of obedience, he might have filled the throne with decency, perhaps with honour : but his lot cast him into one of the most turbulent periods of our history, without the talents to command respect, or the authority to enforce submission. Yet his incapacity was productive rather of inconvenience to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific sway the nation grew more rapidly in wealth and prosperity than it had done under any of his military progenitors. Out of the fifty-six years, through which he extended his reign, but a very small portion was marked by the calamities of war : the tenants of the crown were seldom dragged by him into foreign countries, or impoverished by scutages for the support of mercenary armies :

the proprietors, deprived of two sources of wealth, the plunder of an enemy, and the ransom of captives, turned their attention to the improvement of their estates : salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce : and there scarcely existed a port from the coast of Norway to the shores of Italy that was not annually visited by English merchants. This statement may perhaps surprise those who have listened only to the remonstrances of factious barons, or the complaints of discontented historians: but the fact is, that of all the kings since the conquest, Henry received the least money from the tenants of the crown. According to the most accurate calculation, the average amount of his expenses did not exceed twenty-four thousand marks per annum: and we are assured that in the course of a reign which continued half a century, the only extraordinary aids levied by him on the nation were two fifteenths, one thirtieth, and one fortieth for himself, and one twentieth for the relief of the Holy Land. His great resource was the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, which he received for some years: an impost which, though insufficient to rescue him from the pressure of poverty, was calculated from its partial operation to exasperate the minds of those who were compelled to pay it. The clergy struggled in vain to shake off the burden; their writers have laboured more successfully to interest in their favour the feelings of posterity by the description, probably the exaggerated description, of their wrongs.

LINGARD.

EDWARD I.

EDWARD (at his accession) had now reached his thirty-sixth year. In his person he was tall, but well proportioned : the length of his arm gave additional force to his stroke ; and when he was once placed in his saddle, no struggle of his horse, no violence of the enemy could dislodge him from his seat. In temper he was warm and irascible, impatient of injury, and reckless of danger: but his anger might be disarmed by submission, and his temerity seemed to be justified by success. During the late contest with the barons he had proved the solidity of his judgment, and the resolution of his mind : and his reputation had been established among the admirers of chivalry by his prowess in battles, in tournaments, and in his expedition to Palestine. In ambition he did not yield to any of his predecessors : but his ambition aimed at a very different object. They had exhausted their strength in attempting contests on the continent, which might be wrested from them at any time by a fortunate neighbour: aspired to unite in himself the sovereignty of the whole island of Great Britain. Nor was he rely disappointed. Wales was incorporated with England : and the independence of Scotland had an asylum in the midst of morasses, forests, mountains.

LINGARD.

EDWARD II.

THE first Edward had been in disposition a tyrant. As often as he had dared, he had trampled on the liberties, or invaded the property of his subjects; and yet he died in his bed, respected by his barons and admired by his contemporaries. His son, the second Edward, was of a less injurious character: no acts of injustice or oppression were imputed to him by his greatest enemies: yet he was deposed from the throne, and murdered in a prison. Of this difference between the lot of the father and the son, the solution must be sought in the manners and character of the age. They both reigned over proud and factious nobles, jealous of their own liberties, but regardless of the liberties of others; and who, though they respected the arbitrary sway of a monarch as haughty and violent as themselves, despised the milder and more equitable administration of his successor. That successor, naturally easy and indolent, fond of the pleasures of the table and the amusements of the chase, willingly devolved on others the cares and labours of government. But in an age unacquainted with the more modern expedient of a responsible minister, the barons considered the elevation of the favourite as their own depression, his power as the infringement of their rights. The result was what we have seen, a series of associations, having for their primary object the removal of evil counsellors, as they were called, from the person of the prince, but which gradually invaded the legitimate rights of the crown, and terminated in the dethronement and assassination of the sovereign.

LINGARD.

EDWARD III.

IN personal accomplishments Edward is said to have been superior, in mental powers to have been equal, to any of his predecessors. More than usual care had been bestowed on his education : and he could not only speak the English and French, but also understand the German and Latin languages. His elocution was graceful ; his conversation entertaining ; his behaviour dignified, but also attractive. To the fashionable amusements of hunting and hawking he was much addicted : but to these he preferred the more warlike exercise of the tournament: and his subjects, at the conclusion of the exhibition, often burst into transports of applause, when they found that the unknown knight, whose prowess they had admired, proved to be their own sovereign. Of his courage as a combatant, and his abilities as a general, the reader will have formed a competent opinion from the preceding pages. The astonishing victories, which cast so much glory on one period of his reign, appear to have dazzled the eyes both of his subjects and foreigners, who placed him in the first rank of conquerors : but the disasters, which clouded the evening of his life, have furnished a proof that his ambition was greater than his judgment. He was at last convinced that the crowns of France and Scotland were beyond his reach ; but not till he had exhausted the strength of the nation by a series of gigantic but fruitless efforts. Before his death all his conquests, with the exception of Calais,

had slipped from his grasp : the greater part of his hereditary dominions on the continent had been torn from him by a rival, whom he formerly despised : and a succession of short and precarious truces was sought and accepted as a boon by the monarch, who in his more fortunate days had dictated the peace of Bretigny.

LINGARD.

RICHARD II.

THE features of Richard were handsome, but feminine ; his manners abrupt ; his utterance embarrassed. He possessed some taste for literature, and occasionally gave indications of resolution and spirit. But he was passionately fond of parade and pleasure : and the loss of his crown has been sometimes attributed to his extravagance and pecuniary exactions. It would, however, be difficult to prove, that his expenses were greater than those of his predecessors : it is certain, that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less. "What concern have you," he once observed to the commons, "with the establishment of my household, as long as I maintain it without asking you for assistance?" His misfortunes may be more correctly traced to the early age at which he mounted the throne, and to the precaution taken by his mother and her friends to defeat the supposed designs of his uncles. By these he was estranged from the princes of his blood, whose pride refused to pay court to a boy ; and whose neglect compelled

him to fix his affections on his ministers and companions. Jealousies and rivalry ensued, which ended in the celebrated commission of government, and the ruin, perhaps originally undeserved, of the royal favourites. When the king had recovered the exercise of his authority, he reigned in comparative tranquillity for a long period ; but his conduct in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his reign betrayed such a thirst for revenge, and habit of dissimulation, such despotic notions of government, and so fixed a purpose to rule without control, that no reader can be surprised at the catastrophe which followed. We may indeed abhor the wiles by which he was ensnared ; may sympathize with him in his prison ; and may condemn the policy which afterwards bereaved him of life : but at the same time we must acknowledge, that he deserved to be abandoned by the people, on whose liberties he had trampled ; and to forfeit that authority which he sought to exalt above the laws and constitution of his country.

LINGARD.

H E N R Y V.

THE splendour which conquest threw round the person of Henry during his life still adheres to his memory four centuries after his death. But he was not only a warrior ; he was also a statesman. The praise of constitutional courage he may share with many of his predecessors : he surpassed most of them in the skill with which he fomented the dissensions among his antagonists, and improved to the best advantage the

unexpected events which chequered the busy scene of French politics. Success, however, gave a tinge of arrogance to his character. He did not sufficiently respect the prejudices, or spare the feelings of his new subjects : the pomp and superiority, which he displayed, mortified their vanity : and the deference which he exacted from the proudest of the French nobility was reluctantly yielded by men, who, under the weak reign of Charles, had been accustomed to trample on the authority of their sovereign. Continually engaged in war, he had little leisure to discharge the duties of a legislator: but he has been commended for his care to enforce the equal administration of justice ; and was beloved by the lower classes, both in France and England, for the protection which he afforded them against the oppression of their superiors. To those who served him, if he were a stern, he was also a bountiful master : and though he punished severely, he rewarded with munificence. By military men he was beloved and adored : and the officers of the army in France resolved to prove the sincerity of that attachment which they professed for him while living, by the extraordinary pomp with which they paid the last duties to his remains.

LINGARD.

H E N R Y VI.

ON that day expired the reign of Henry VI., a prince whose personal character commanded the respect of his very enemies, and whose misfortunes still claim the sympathy of the reader. *He was virtuous and religious; humane, forgiv-*

ing, and benevolent ; but nature had denied him that health of body and fortitude of mind which could have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation. It would be unjust to attribute those difficulties to his misconduct : they arose from causes over which he had no control, the original defect in his descent, the duration of his minority, the dissensions of his uncles, and the frequent recurrence of corporal debility, generally accompanied with the privation of reason.

LINGARD.

EDWARD IV.

EDWARD is said to have been the most accomplished, and, till he grew too unwieldy, the most handsome man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress, or more licentious in their amours : few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table. But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents : and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother, the Duke of Gloucester. To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving : the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes : and both lords and commons during his reign, instead

to his avarice a bait, which it could not refuse. He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterized the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the bloody feuds between the two roses. The temporal peers, who had survived the storm, were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors : they feared, by alarming the suspicions of the monarch, to replunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately emerged : and the commons readily adopted the humble tone and submissive demeanour of the upper house. Henry, and the same may be observed of his two last predecessors, found them always the obsequious ministers of his pleasure.

But if the king were economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of his wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence, of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings his six convents of friars fell in the next reign : his chapel at Westminster still exists a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade : and not only gave the royal licence to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered *the island* of Newfoundland, crept along the

coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent. LINGARD.

* * * *

THIS king was that kind of miracle which affects wise men ; but does not strike the ignorant. There are numerous particulars, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for common-place, as for grave and prudent observation.

He was certainly religious, both in his temper and behaviour. And as he could see clearly, for those times, into superstition ; so he would be blinded now and then through policy. He promoted ecclesiastics, and was tender in the privileges of sanctuaries, though they caused him so much mischief. He built and endowed many religious houses, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy : yet he was a great almsgiver in secret, which shows that his works in public were dedicated to God's glory, not his own.

He always professed to love and seek peace ; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, “ That when Christ came into the world, peace was sung ; and when he went out of it peace was bequeathed.” This could not be imputed to fear or softness in him, being a martial and active man ; but was doubtless a truly christian moral virtue. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem too desirous of it ; and therefore he would frequently raise reports, and feign preparations for war, till he had mended the conditions of peace.

It was also remarkable, that being so great a
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lover of peace, he should be so successful in war. For both his foreign and domestic wars were so fortunate, that he never knew a disaster. The war at his coming in, and the rebellions of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Lord Audley, he terminated by victory : the wars of France and Spain by peace, sought at his hands : the war of Britain, by the accidental death of the duke : the insurrection of the Lord Lovel, and that of Perkins at Exeter, and in Kent, by the flight of the rebels before they came to blows ; so that his felicity in arms was still peculiar and inviolate ; perhaps chiefly because in suppressing rebellions he ever appeared in person. The first of the battle he would sometimes leave to his lieutenants ; reserving himself to second the onset : but he was ever in some part of the action. Yet this proceeded not from warmth or bravery in him, but partly from a distrust of others.

He always greatly countenanced the laws of the kingdom, and would seem to maintain them by his own authority ; though this he did without any way falling short of his ends, for he held the reins of the law so commodiously as to lose no part either of his revenue or prerogative. And yet, as he would sometimes wind up the laws to his prerogative, so he would at others purposely lower his prerogative to his parliament. For though the regulation of the mint, treaties of peace, and the affairs of the army, are matters of absolute right, yet he would often refer these to parliament.

Justice was well administered in his time, except where the king was party ; and excepting

also that the privy council intermeddled too much in cases of *meum* and *tuum*. For the council was then a mere court of justice, especially in the beginning of his reign. But in that part of justice and policy, which is durable, and carved, as it were, in brass and marble, *viz.* the making of good laws, he greatly excelled.

His justice also was mixed with mercy ; for in his reign but three of the nobility suffered capitally ; *viz.* the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Audley. Though the two former were as numbers, in respect to the virulence and hatred of the people. But never were such great rebellions known to be expiated with so little blood, shed by the sword of justice, as the two extraordinary ones of Exeter and Black-heath. His general pardons to the rebels ever went both before and after his sword. But then he had a strange method of interchanging ample and unexpected pardons with severe executions : which, considering his wisdom, could not be attributed to any inconstancy, or wavering ; but either to some secret reason, or to a certain rule he had prescribed himself, to try both corrosives and lenitives by turns.

But the less blood he drew, the more treasure he usually took : and, as some maliciously construed it, he was sparing in the one, that he might squeeze the more in the other ; for to have taken both would, indeed, have been intolerable. Doubtless, he was naturally inclined to hoarding ; and admired riches too much for one in so high a sphere. And, indeed, he was touched with *remorse at his death*, for having oppressed his

people, and extorted money, by ways of all kinds. This excess of his had, at that time, many interpretations. Some were of opinion, that the perpetual rebellions wherewith he had been harassed, drove him to hate his people ; some that it tended to abate the fierceness of his subjects, by keeping them low ; others, that he intended to leave a golden fleece to his son ; and others, in fine, that he had some secret design of a foreign war. But those, perhaps, come nearest the truth, who impute it to nature, years, peace, and a mind taken up with no other ambition or pursuit. Whereto may be added, that having frequent occasion to observe the necessities and shifts which other princes were drove to for money ; this strongly showed him the felicity that attends full coffers.

In expending of treasure, he kept this rule, never to spare any charge his affairs required. In his buildings he was magnificent ; in his reward closehanded : so that his liberality extended rather to what regarded himself, and his own memory, than to the rewarding of merit.

He was of a high and exalted mind ; a lover of his own opinion, and his own way ; as one that revered himself, and would reign alone. Had he been a private man, doubtless he would have been termed proud. But in a wise prince, it was no more than keeping a just and due distance between himself and his subjects ; which he constantly did towards all ; not admitting any one a near approach, either to his authority or secrets. For he was governed by none about him. His consort, the queen, who had blessed

him with several children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do little with him. His mother he indeed revered much ; but seldom admitted her to a share of his counsels. He had no person agreeable to him for conversation ; unless he should account for such, Bishop Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were frequently with him : but it was as the tool is with the workman. He had as little vainglory as any other prince, though without any diminution of state and majesty, which he ever kept up to the height ; being sensible that the reverence of majesty holds the people in obedience : whilst vainglory, if rightly considered, prostitutes princes to popular breath.

He was just and constant to his confederates, but close and cautious. He searched into them so much, yet kept himself so close and reserved, that they stood as it were in the light to him, and he in the dark to them. But this was carried without any appearance of secrecy ; and rather with the show of frankness and familiarity, as one who communicated his own affairs to others and at the same time inquired into theirs.

As for the little envies and emulations which usually pass between princes, to the detriment of their affairs, he had nothing of them ; but went earnestly and substantially about transacting his business. His reputation, though great at home, was still greater abroad. For foreigners, who could not see the conduct and particular passages of his affairs, but only the conclusions and general issues of them, observed that he was ever in strife, and ever superior. It was partly occa-

sioned also by the letters and relations of foreign ambassadors, who attended his court in great numbers ; for these he not only pleased by courtesy, reward, and familiar conversation ; but also raised their admiration, by discovering a universal knowledge of the affairs of Europe. Which, though he had chiefly drawn from the ambassadors themselves, and their informations, yet what he had gathered from them all seemed extraordinary to every particular. So that they always wrote to their superiors in high terms of his wisdom and policy. Nay, when returned to their several countries, they frequently gave him intelligence, by letter, of all occurrences that had happened worthy of note ; such a talent he had, at ingratiating himself with foreign ministers.

He was solicitous to procure, by all methods, intelligence from every quarter ; for which end, he not only used the industry of foreign ministers residing here, and of his own pensioners, which he kept at the court of Rome, and the courts of other princes ; but the vigilance likewise of his own ambassadors abroad. And with this view, his instructions were exact, even to curiosity, and orderly digested in articles ; more of which generally regarded inquiry than negotiation ; and required distinct and particular answers.

As for his emissaries, which he secretly employed both at home and abroad, to discover what practices and conspiracies were on foot against him, they seem in his case to have been exceedingly necessary : he had so many moles, *as it were*, perpetually at work to undermine

him. Neither can this be accounted unlawful. For if spies are approved in war against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. His industry, in thus employing emissaries, had this good effect, that as many conspiracies were detected by their means, so the fame and suspicion of his spies doubtless kept many others from being attempted.

He was no uxorious husband, nor indulgent; yet complaisant, companionable, and free from jealousy. He was affectionate to his children, and careful of their education, for he aspired to procure their advancement: he was careful, also, that all the honour and respect becoming their quality should be paid them; but not greatly desirous to have them exalted in the eyes of the people.

He referred most of his business to his privy council, and often presided among them in person; well knowing this to be a right and solid way both to strengthen his authority and inform his judgment. To which end also he was patient of their liberty, as well in advising as voting, till he had declared his own opinion, which he usually reserved to the end of the debates.

He kept a strict hand upon the nobility, and chose rather to advance to his service such clergymen and lawyers who were more obsequious to him, and less gracious with the people, which made for his authority, but not for his safety: insomuch that I am fully persuaded this method of his was a principal cause of the frequent commotions which happened in his reign; because the nobility, though loyal and obedient, did not

cheerfully cooperate with him ; but left his designs rather to take their chance than urge their accomplishment.

He was never afraid of his servants and ministers, though men of the brightest parts and greatest abilities ; as Lewis XI. was. But on the contrary, made use of the most eminent of his time : otherwise his affairs could not have prospered as they did. Neither did he care how crafty and subtle they were, for he thought himself even here their superior.

And as he showed great judgment in the choice of his ministers, he was as constant in protecting those he had once chose. It is strange, that though he was a dark, close prince, excessively suspicious, his reign turbulent, and full of conspiracies ; yet in twenty-four years, he never displaced or discomposed a counsellor, or near servant, except Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain.

For the disposition of his subjects towards him ; as there are three affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the people to their sovereign ; viz. love, fear, and reverence ; he had their reverence in a high degree ; much of their fear ; but so little of their love, as to be beholden to the other two for his security.

He was a sober, serious, thoughtful prince, full of cares and secret observations ; and had notes and memorandums always ready by him ; written with his own hand ; particularly relating to the choice of persons for employ ; those he designed to reward, inquire about, or beware of ; those who were nearly linked together, either by *faction* or good offices ; those who had formed

into parties, and the like ; thus keeping a kind of diary of his own thoughts. There goes a pleasant story, that his monkey, provoked to it, as was imagined, by one of the bedchamber, once tore his principal note-book to pieces, as it lay somewhat carelessly exposed : whereat the court, which liked not that scrupulous diligence, were ready to burst with laughter.

But though he abounded in apprehensions and suspicions, yet as he easily took them up, he as easily laid them down, and made them submit to his judgment : whence they were rather troublesome to himself than dangerous to others. Yet it must be acknowledged that his thoughts were so numerous, and so complicated, that they could not often consist together : but that which was of service one way, proved hurtful another. Neither was it possible for him to be wise or happy, so much beyond the condition of mortals, as always to weigh things truly, in their exact proportions. Certainly, the rumour that raised him so many, and so great troubles, viz. that the Duke of York was saved, and still alive, did, at the beginning, get strength and credit from himself ; being desirous of having it believed, in hopes of softening the imputation of reigning in his own right, and not in the right of his wife.

He was affable and soothingly eloquent, so as to use strange sweetness and insinuation in his speech, where he would persuade, or effect any thing that he earnestly desired.

He was rather studious than learned ; reading, for the most part, books wrote in French. Yet he understood Latin, as appears from hence,

that Cardinal Hadrian, and others who were well acquainted with French, yet always wrote to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no mention found of them. Yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile, with regard to the Queen of Naples, it appears he could very skilfully interrogate upon beauty, and the parts thereof. He did by pleasures, as great princes do by banquets of sweet-meats : look upon them a little, and go away. For never was prince more immersed in his own affairs, being wholly taken up with them, and himself wholly in them : insomuch that at justs, tournaments, or other mock fights, masks, and the like public assemblies, he seemed to be rather a princely and grave spectator, than much delighted.

Doubtless, as in all other men, and particularly in kings, his fortune influenced his nature ; and his nature again influenced his fortune. He ascended to the throne, not only from a private fortune, which might teach him moderation ; but from the fortune of an exiled man, which had given him the spurs of industry and sagacity. And his government being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success ; but in the mean time almost corrupted his nature by perpetual vexations. This prudence, by his frequent escapes from dangers (which had taught him to rely upon extempore remedies), was turned rather into a dexterity at extricating himself from misfortunes, when they pressed him, than into a foresight to prevent and remove them at a distance. Thus, the eyes of his mind were not

unlike the corporeal eyes of those who see strong near at hand, but weak at a distance. For his prudence was suddenly roused by the occasion ; and the more, if the occasion was sharpened by danger.

These influences his fortune had upon his nature ; nor were there wanting, on the other hand, certain influences, which his nature had upon his fortune. For whether it was the shortness of his foresight, or the obstinacy of his will, or the dazzling of his suspicions, or what ; certain it is, that the perpetual troubles in his fortune could not have arisen without some great defects in his nature, and riveted errors in the radical constitution of his mind ; which he was obliged to salve and correct by a thousand little industries and arts ; all which best appear in the history itself.

But to take him with all his defects, and compare him with the kings of France and Spain, his contemporaries, we shall find him more politic than Lewis XII. of France ; and more faithful and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But to change Lewis XII. for Lewis XI. who reigned a little before, the comparisons will be more suitable, and the parallels more exact. For these three, Lewis XI., Henry, and Ferdinando, may be esteemed as the three magi among the kings of that age. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was his own fault ; for what he undertook he compassed.

He was comely in person ; a little above the just stature ; well and straight limbed ; but slender. His *countenance* struck a reverence, some-

what resembling that of an ecclesiastic. And as it was not gloomy or supercilious, so neither was it winning or pleasing; but like the face of one composed and sedate in mind, though his was not happy for the painter, as being best when he spoke.

He had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great king, in living exercised, and dying penitent. So that he triumphed victoriously, as well in spirituals as temporals; and succeeded in both conflicts, that of sin, and that of the cross.

He was born at Pembroke Castle, and buried at Westminster, in one of the noblest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulchre. So that he dwells more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than when alive, either at Richmond, or any other of his palaces. I could wish he might do the like in this monument of his fame.

BACON.

HENRY VIII.

To form a just estimate of the character of Henry we must distinguish between the young king, guided by the counsels of Wolsey, and the monarch of more mature age, governing by his own judgment, and with the aid of ministers selected and fashioned by himself. In his youth the beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and his adroitness in every martial and fashionable exercise, were calculated to attract the admiration of his subjects. His court was gay and *splendid*; a succession of amusements seemed to absorb his attention; yet his pleasures were not

permitted to encroach on his more important duties : he assisted at the council, perused his dispatches, and corresponded with his generals and ambassadors : nor did the minister, trusted and powerful as he was, dare to act till he had asked the opinion, and taken the pleasure of his sovereign. His natural abilities had been improved by study ; and his esteem for literature may be inferred from the learned education which he gave to his children, and from the number of eminent scholars to whom he granted pensions in foreign states, or on whom he conferred promotion in his own. The immense treasure which he inherited from his father was perhaps a misfortune ; because it engendered habits of expense not to be supported from the ordinary revenue of the crown : and the soundness of his politics may be doubted, which, under the pretence of supporting the balance of power, repeatedly involved the nation in continental hostilities. Yet even these errors served to throw a lustre round the English throne, and raised its possessor in the eyes of his own subjects and of the different nations of Europe. But as the king advanced in age, his vices gradually developed themselves : after the death of Wolsey they were indulged without restraint. He became as rapacious as he was prodigal ; as obstinate as he was capricious ; as fickle in his friendships as he was merciless in his resentments. Though liberal of his confidence, he soon grew suspicious of those whom he had ever trusted ; and, as if he possessed no other right to the crown than that which he derived from the very *questionable claim* of his father, he viewed with

an evil eye every remote descendant of the Plantagenets ; and eagerly embraced the slightest pretexts to remove those whom his jealousy represented as future rivals to himself or his posterity. In pride and vanity he was, perhaps, without a parallel. Inflated with the praises of interested admirers, he despised the judgment of others ; acted as if he deemed himself infallible in matters of policy and religion ; and seemed to look upon dissent from his opinions as equivalent to a breach of allegiance. In his estimation, to submit and to obey, were the great, the paramount duties of subjects : and this persuasion steeled his breast against remorse for the blood which he shed, and led him to trample without scruple on the liberties of the nation.

When he ascended the throne, there still existed a spirit of freedom, which, on more than one occasion, defeated the arbitrary measures of the court, though directed by an able minister, and supported by the authority of the sovereign : but in the lapse of a few years that spirit had fled, and before the death of Henry the king of England had grown into a despot, the people had shrunk into a nation of slaves. The cause of this important change in the relation between the sovereign and his subjects, may be found not so much in the abilities or passions of the former, as in the obsequiousness of his parliaments, the assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and the servility of the two religious parties which divided the nation.

LINGARD.

EDWARD VI.

It would be idle to delineate the character of a prince, who lived not till his passions could develop themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity. His education, like that of his two sisters, began at an early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior, to most boys of his years; and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. But the extravagant praises which have been lavished on him by his panegyrists and admirers may be received with some degree of caution. In the French and Latin letters, to which they appeal, it is difficult to separate the composition of the pupil from the corrections of the master: and since, to raise his reputation, deceptions are known to have been employed on some occasions, it may be justifiable to suspect that they were practised on others. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in the council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But he had been previously informed of the subjects to be discussed; his preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory: and while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords, whether they were aware or not of the artifice, admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which heaven had gifted their sovereign.

Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him,

who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions prejudices. From them he derived a strong sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines. He believed to be the first of his duties to extirpate what had been taught to deem the idolatrous worship of his fathers ; and with his last breath he wafted a prayer to heaven for the preservation of his subjects from the infection of " papistry." Yet it may be a question whether his early death had not proved a benefit to the Church of England as it is at present established. His sentiments like those of his instructors, were tinged with Calvinism : attempts were made to persuade him that episcopacy was an expensive and unnecessary institution ; and the courtiers, whose appetite for church property had been whetted rather than satisfied by former spoliations, looked impatiently towards the entire suppression of the bishoprics and chapters. Of the possessions belonging to these establishments, one half had already been seized by the royal favourites : the course of a few years their rapacity would have devoured the remainder.

LINGARD.

MARY.

THE foulest blot on the character of this queen was the long and cruel persecution of the reformed. The sufferings of the victims naturally begot an antipathy to the woman, by whose authority th-

were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrines was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

With this exception, she has been ranked by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest of our princesses. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues; have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion to the poor, and liberality to the distressed; and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress: and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor.

The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father; but there was this difference, that before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. *One of the outlaws, who had ob-*

tained his pardon, hoped to ingratiate himself with Mary by devising a plan to render her independent of parliament. He submitted it to the inspection of the Spanish ambassador, by whom it was recommended to her consideration. Sending for Gardiner, she bade him peruse it, and then adjured him, as he should answer at the judgment seat of God, to speak his real sentiment "Madam," replied the prelate, "it is a pity a virtuous a lady should be surrounded by such sycophants. The book is naught; it is full with things too horrible to be thought of." She thanked him, and threw the paper into the fire.

Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages; and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners, who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration. Her speeches in public, and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency; and her conferences with Noailles, as related in his dispatches, show her to have possessed an acute and vigorous mind, and to have been on most subjects a match for that subtle and intriguing negotiator.

LINGARD.

ELIZABETH.

In the judgment of her contemporaries, and the judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity, Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princesses. The tranquillity which, during a reign of half a century,

tury, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government: and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the many injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West, and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her naval and military power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was the spirit of commercial enterprise, which had revived in the reign of Mary, and had been carefully fostered in that of Elizabeth, by the patronage of the sovereign, and the cooperation of the great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and seafaring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind; it diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. Their views became expanded; their powers were called into action; and the example of successful adventure furnished a powerful stimulus to the talent and industry of the nation. Men in every profession looked forward to wealth and independence: all were eager to start in the race of improvement.

The other cause may be discovered in the system of *foreign policy* adopted by the ministers;

a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith; but which, in the result, proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebellion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress; and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing among the dikes and sandbanks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise in the scale of reputation and power.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice. Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion: generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled; she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred: but, if we con-

demn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the dispatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation.

It may be that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices: but there is reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind. To deliberate appears to have been her delight: to resolve was her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bedchamber, no less than the lords of her council: but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose, as it had already cost to bring her to it. The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen: in public they employed all their ingenuity to screen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterized as folly.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites; her care to

improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise, could not be denied; but they contended that, in their mistress, it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low; she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service: yet there were others who, by the sale of places, and patronage, and monopolies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connexion with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped; expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale, and for too short a period; and the very apprehensions of present served only to entail on her future and more enormous expense.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing; on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, *that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage*

in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother: but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading the accounts of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an eastern princess. When Heatzner saw her, she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals; between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword Elizabeth followed: and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees. She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face, her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent: the collar of the garter hung from her neck, and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Behind her followed a long train of young ladies, dressed in white; and on each side stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes, and in splendid uniforms.

The traveller next proceeded to the dining-room. Two gentlemen entered to lay the cloth, two to bring the queen's plate, salt, and bread. All, before they approached the table, and when

they retired from it, made three genuflexions. Then came a single and a married lady, performing the same ceremonies. The first rubbed the plate with bread and salt; the second gave a morsel of meat to each of the yeomen of the guard, who brought in the different courses; and at the same time the hall echoed to the sound of twelve trumpets, and two kettle drums. But the queen dined that day in private: and, after a short pause, her maids of honour entered in procession, and with much reverence and solemnity, took the dishes from the table, and carried them into an inner apartment.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between them and their sovereign, she condescended to court the good will of the common people. In the country they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her: she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure; but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode.

From the elevation of the throne we may now follow Elizabeth into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great: she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock

of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary she possessed a knowledge of five languages; but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek testament, like Elizabeth. The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight; and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit which was universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last. Few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine.

Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages: there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own charms; but Elizabeth, by proclamation, announced to her people, that none of the portraits, which had hitherto been taken of her person, did justice to the original: that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects: and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without licence, or to show or publish any of the old

portraits, till they had been reformed according to the copy to be set forth by authority.

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire ; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed, it seemed rather to become more craving by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric she exacted the same homage to her faded charms as had been paid to her youth; and all who addressed her were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

But however highly the queen might think of her person she did not despise the aid of external ornament. At her death two, some say three, thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents, which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen whose houses she had honoured with her presence. To the austere notions of the bishop of London, this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age ; and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven ; but she told her ladies that, if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit him for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.

In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inhe-

rited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths : in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words : not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear to the earl marshal, and she spat on Sir Matthew —, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of "The virgin queen." But the woman who despised the safeguards, must be content to forfeit the reputation of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dis honourable reports. At first they gave her pain ; but her feelings were soon blunted by passion : in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bedchamber ; and by this indecent act proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame. But Dudley, though the most favoured, was not considered as her only lover : among his rivals were numbered Hatton and Raleigh, and Oxford and Blount, and Simier and Anjou : and it was afterwards believed that her licentious habits survived even when the fires of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt, " all enor-

mities reigned in the highest degree," or, according to Harrington, "where there was no love, but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus."

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld, the principles of government established by her father; the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. The doctrine, with which the lord keeper Bacon opened her first parliament, was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that if the queen consulted the two houses, it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent. She possessed by her prerogative whatever was requisite for the government of the realm. She could, at her pleasure, suspend the operation of existing statutes, or issue proclamations which should have the force of law. In her opinion the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiae of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests. To the lower house she granted, indeed, freedom of debate; but it was to be a decent freedom, the liberty of "saying ay or no;" and those who transgressed that decency were liable, as we have repeatedly seen, to feel the weight of the royal displeasure.

A foreigner, who had been ambassador in England, informs us, that under Elizabeth the administration of justice was more corrupt than under her predecessors. We have not the means of instituting the comparison. But we know that

in her first year the policy of Cecil substituted men of inferior rank in the place of the former magistrates ; that numerous complaints were heard of their tyranny, peculation, and rapacity ; and that a justice of peace was defined in parliament to be an animal, who, for half a dozen chickens, would dispense with a dozen laws : nor shall we form a very exalted notion of the integrity of the higher courts, if we recollect that the judges were removable at the royal pleasure, and that the queen herself was in the habit of receiving, and permitted her favourites and ladies to receive bribes, as the prices of her or their interference in the suits of private individuals.

Besides the judicial tribunals, which remain to the present day, there were in the age of Elizabeth several other courts, the arbitrary constitution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject ; the court of high commission, for the cognizance of religious offences ; the court of star chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority ; and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Whatever could be supposed to have the remotest tendency to sedition was held to subject the offender to martial law ; the murder of a naval or military officer, the importation of disloyal or traitorous books, or the resort to one place of several persons who possessed not the means of subsistence. Thus, in 1595, under the pretence that the vagabonds in London were *not to be restrained by the usual*

punishments, she ordered Sir Thomas Wyllford to receive from the magistrates the most notorious and incorrigible of these offenders, and to execute them upon the gallows, according to the justice of martial law."

Another, and intolerable grievance, was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In addition, many new felonies and treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions, who had been condemned by the star chamber to suffer punishment for a riot: in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down inclosures, and restore tillage: each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and

both the apprentices in London, and the men of Oxfordshire, suffered the barbarous death of traitors.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable, in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. I know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants; but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the monies raised by forced loans: of which it is observed by Naunton, that "she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or could have taken up, that were a hundred years before her."

The historians, who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth, have described with a glowing pencil the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery, drawn by the catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties, of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes, many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust; new families had sprung up in their place; and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally enlighened the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the

nation : it was that of one half obtained at the expense of the other.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized have long since withered away : the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience has ceased to stain the pages of the statute book ; and the result has proved that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne, than to the happiness of the people. LINGARD.

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Both nature and fortune conspired to render Queen Elizabeth the ambition of her sex, and an ornament to crowned heads. This is not a subject for the pen of a monk, or any such cloistered writer. For such men, though keen in style, are attached to their party ; and transmit things of this nature unfaithfully to posterity. Certainly this is a province for men of the first rank ; or such as have sat at the helm of states, and been acquainted with the depths and secrets of civil affairs.

All ages have esteemed a female government a rarity : if prosperous, a wonder ; and if both long and prosperous, almost a miracle. But this lady reigned forty-four years complete ; yet did not outlive her felicity. Of this felicity I purpose to say somewhat, without running into praises ; for praise is the tribute of men, but felicity the gift of God.

And first, I account it a part of her felicity,

that she was advanced to the throne from a private fortune. For it is implanted in the nature of men, to esteem unexpected success an additional felicity. But what I mean is, that princes educated in courts, as the undoubted heirs of a crown, are corrupted by indulgence ; and thence generally rendered less capable, and less moderate in the management of affairs. And therefore we find those the best rulers, who are disciplined by both fortunes. Such was, with us, King Henry VII. and with the French, Louis XII. who both of them came to the crown almost at the same time ; not only from a private, but also from an adverse and rugged fortune : and the former proved famous for his prudence ; the other for his justice. In the same manner this princess also had the dawn of her fortune chequered ; but in her reign it proved unusually constant and steady. From her birth she was entitled to the succession ; but afterwards disinherited, and then postponed. In the reign of her brother, her fortune was more favourable and serene ; but in the reign of her sister, more hazardous and tempestuous. Nor was she advanced, on a sudden, from a prison to the throne ; which might have made her haughty and vindictive ; but, being restored to her liberty, and still growing in hopes, at last in a happy calm she obtained the crown without opposition or competitor. And this I mention to show, that divine Providence, intending an excellent princess, prepared and advanced her by such degrees of discipline.

Nor ought the misfortunes of her mother to
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sully the glory of her birth ; especially because it is evident that King Henry VIII. was engaged in a new amour before his rage kindled against Queen Anne ; and because the temper of that king is censured by posterity, as exceedingly prone both to amours and jealousies, and violent in both, even to the effusion of blood. Add to this, that she was cut off through an accusation manifestly improbable, and built upon slight conjectures, as was then secretly whispered ; and Queen Anne herself protested her innocence, with an undaunted greatness of mind, at the time of her death. For, by a faithful and generous messenger, as she supposed, she, just before her execution, sent this message to the king : “ That his majesty constantly held on in his purpose of heaping new honours upon her ; for that first he raised her from a private gentlewoman, to the honour of a marchioness ; next advanced her into a partnership of his bed and kingdom ; and when now there remained no higher earthly honour, he designed to promote her, an innocent, to the crown of martyrdom.” But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, now plunged in a new amour ; though fame, the asserter of truth, has transmitted it to posterity.

Again, it is no inconsiderable part of Queen Elizabeth’s felicity, that the course of her reign was not only long, but fell within that season of her life which is fittest for governing. Thus she began her reign at twenty-five ; and continued it to the seventieth year of her age. So that she neither felt the harshness of a minority, the checks of a governor’s power, nor the inconveniences of

extreme old age ; which is attended with miseries enough in private men ; but in crowned heads, besides the ordinary miseries, it usually occasions a decay of the government, and ends with an inglorious exit. For scarce any king has lived to extreme old age, without suffering some diminution in empire and esteem. Of this we have an eminent instance in Philip the Second, king of Spain, a potent prince, and admirably versed in the arts of government, who, in the decline of life, was thoroughly sensible of this misfortune : and therefore wisely submitted to the necessity of things ; voluntarily quitted his acquisitions in France, established a firm peace with that kingdom, and attempted the like with others ; that so he might leave all quiet and composed to his successor. Queen Elizabeth's fortune, on the contrary, was so constant and fixed, that no declension of affairs followed her lively, though declining age : nay, for an assured monument of her felicity, she died not till the rebellion of Ireland ended in a victory, lest her glory should otherwise have appeared any way ruffled or incomplete.

It should likewise be considered over what kind of people she reigned. For had her empire fallen among the Palmyrenians, or in soft unwarlike Asia, it had been a less wonder : since a female in the throne would have suited an effeminate people : but in England, a hardy military nation, for all things to be directed and governed by a woman, is a matter of the highest admiration. Yet this temper of her people, eager for war, and impatient of peace, did not prevent her

from maintaining it all her reign. And this peaceable disposition of hers, joined with success, I reckon one of her chiefest praises: as being happy for her people, becoming her sex, and a satisfaction to her conscience. Indeed, about the tenth year of her reign, there rose a small commotion in the north of her kingdom; but it was presently suppressed. The rest of her reign passed in a secure and profound peace. And I judge it a glorious peace, for two reasons; which, though they make nothing to its merit, yet contribute much to its honour. The one, that it was rendered more conspicuous and illustrious by the calamities of our neighbours, as by so many flames about us. The other, that the blessings of peace were not unattended with the glory of arms; since she not only preserved, but advanced the honour of the English name for martial greatness. For what by the supplies she sent into the Netherlands, France, and Scotland; the expeditions by sea to the Indies; and some of them round the world; the fleets sent to infest Portugal, and the coasts of Spain; and what by the frequent conquests and reductions of the Irish rebels; we suffered no decay in the ancient military fame and virtue of our nation.

It is likewise a just addition to her glory, that neighbouring princes were supported in their thrones by her timely aids; and that suppliant states, which, through the misconduct of their kings, were abandoned, devoted to the cruelty of their ministers, the fury of the multitude, and all manner of desolation, were relieved by her.

Nor were her counsels less beneficent than her

supplies ; as having so often interceded with the king of Spain to reconcile him to his subjects in the Netherlands, and reduce them to obedience, upon some tolerable conditions. And she with sincerity importuned the kings of France, by repeated admonitions, to observe their own edicts, that promised peace to their subjects. It is true her advice proved ineffectual : for the common interest of Europe would not allow the first ; lest the ambition of Spain, being uncurbed, should fly out, as affairs then stood, to the prejudice of the kingdoms and states of Christendom ; and the latter was prevented by the massacre of so many innocent men, who, with their wives and children, were butchered in their own houses, by the scum of the people, armed and let loose, like so many beasts of prey, upon them, by public authority. This bloodshed cried aloud for vengeance, that the kingdom stained by so horrible an impiety might be expiated by intestine slaughter. However, by interposing, she performed the part of a faithful, prudent, and generous ally.

There is also another reason for admiring this peaceful reign, so much endeavoured and maintained by the queen ; viz. that it did not proceed from any disposition of the times, but from her own prudent and discreet conduct. For as she struggled with faction at home, upon account of religion, and as the strength and protection of this kingdom was a kind of bulwark to all Europe, against the extravagant ambition and formidable power of Spain, there wanted no occasions of war : yet, with her force and policy, she sur-

mounted these difficulties. This appeared by most memorable event, in point of felicity, t ever happened through the whole course of afft in our time. For when the Spanish Arms entered our seas, to the terror of all Europe, : with such assurance of victory, they took no single boat of ours, nor burnt the least cotta nor touched our shore ; but were defeated in engagement, dispersed by a miserable flight, : frequent wrecks ; and so left us at home in enjoyment of an undisturbed peace.

Nor was she less happy in disappointing c spiracies than in subduing the forces of her o enemies. For several plots against her life w fortunately discovered, and defeated. And upon this account she was not the more fear or anxious of her person ; for she neither doub of her guards, nor confined herself to her pala but appeared in public as usual ; remember her deliverance, but forgetting her danger.

The nature of the times wherein she flourish must also be considered : for some ages are barbarous and ignorant, that men may be easily governed as sheep. But this princess liv in a learned and polite age; when it was imp sible to be eminent without great parts, and singular habit of virtue.

Again, female reigns are usually eclipsed marriage ; and all the praises thus transfer upon the husband ; whilst those who live sing appropriate the whole glory to themselves. A this is more peculiarly the case of Queen Eli beth ; because she had no supporters of h government, but those of her own making : &

had no brother, no uncle, nor any other of the royal family, to partake her cares, and share in her administration. And for those she advanced to places of trust, she kept such a tight rein upon them, and so distributed her favours, that she laid each of them under the greatest obligation and concern to please her; whilst she always remained mistress of herself.

She was indeed childless, and left no issue behind her; which has been the case of many fortunate princes; as of Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Trajan, &c. and is a disputed point; some taking it for a diminution of felicity, as if men could not be completely happy, unless blessed both in their own persons, and in their children; and others accounting it the perfection of felicity; which then alone seems to be complete, when fortune has no more power over it: which, if children are left behind, can never be the case.

She had likewise her outward embellishments; a tall stature, a graceful shape and make, a most majestic aspect, mixed with sweetness, and a happy state of health. Besides all this, she was strong and vigorous to the last; never experienced a reverse of fortune, nor felt the miseries of old age; and obtained that complacency in death, which Augustus Caesar so passionately desired, by a gentle and easy exit. This is also recorded of that excellent Emperor Antoninus Pius; whose death resembled a sweet and gentle slumber. So likewise in the distemper of the queen, there was nothing shocking, nothing presaging, nothing unbecoming of human nature.

She was not desirous of life, nor impatient unsickness, nor racked with pain. She had dire or disagreeable symptom ; but all thin were of that kind, as argued rather the frail than the corruption or disgrace of nature. Be emaciated by an extreme dryness of body, as the cares that attend a crown, and never refresh with wine, or with a full and plentiful diet, was, a few days before her death, struck with dead palsy ; yet, what is unusual in that temper, retained, in some degree, her speech memory, and motion. In this condition she continued but a little while ; so that it did not see the last act of her life, but the first step to death. For to live long after our faculties impaired is accounted miserable ; but for death to hasten on with a gradual loss of the senses a gentle, a pleasing, and easy dissolution.

To fill up the measure of her felicity, she was exceeding happy, not only in her own person but also in the abilities and virtues of her ministers of state. For she had the fortune to meet with such, as perhaps this island never produced at one time. But God, when he favours, principally raises up and adorns the spirits of their ministers also.

There remain two posthumous felicities, which may seem more noble and august than those that attended her living ; the one is that of her successor, who though he may exceed and eclipse her greatness, by his masculine virtues, his issue and a new accession of empire ; yet is zealous for her name and glory ; and gives a kind of perpetuity to her acts ; having made little chal-

either in the choice of ministers or the method of government: so that a son rarely succeeds a father with less alteration or disturbance.

As for her memory, it is so much in the mouths, and so fresh in the minds of men, that envy being extinguished, and her fame lit up by death, the felicity of her memory seems to vie with the felicity of her life. For if through party zeal, or difference in religion, a factious report be spread abroad; it is neither true, nor can be long lived. And for this reason in particular, I have made the present collection of her felicities, and the marks of the divine favour towards her; that no malicious person might dare to curse, where God has so highly blessed.

If it should be here objected, as Cicero objected to Cæsar, "We have matter enough to admire, but would gladly see something to praise;" I answer that true admiration is a superlative degree of praise. Nor could that felicity above described be the portion of any, but such as are remarkably supported and indulged by the divine favour; and, in some measure, worked it out by their own morals and virtues. I shall, however, add a word or two as to the morals of the queen; but only in such particulars as have occasioned some malicious tongues to traduce her.

As to her religion, she was pious, moderate, constant, and an enemy to novelty. And for her piety, though the marks of it are conspicuous in her acts and administrations; yet there were visible marks of it both in the course of her life, and her ordinary conversation. She was seldom absent from divine service, and other duties of

religion, either in her chapel or closet. She was very conversant in the Scriptures, and writings of the fathers, especially St. Augustine. Herself composed certain prayers upon some emergent occasions. When she mentioned the name of God, though in ordinary discourse, she generally added the title of Creator ; and composed both her eyes and countenance to some sort of humility and reverence ; which I have myself often observed.

As to what some have given out, that she was altogether unmindful of mortality, so as not to bear the mention of old age or death ; it is absolutely false : for several years before her death, she would facetiously call herself “ the old woman ;” and discourse upon what kind of epitaph she liked ; adding, that she was no lover of pompous titles ; but only desired her name might be recorded in a line or two, which should briefly express “ her name, her virginity, the time of her reign, the reformation of religion under it, and her preservation of peace.” It is true, in the flower of her age, being importuned to declare her successor, she answered, “ That she could by no means endure a shroud to be held before her eyes while she was living.” And yet some years before her death, at a time when she was thoughtful, and probably meditating upon her mortality, one of her familiars mentioning in conversation, that several great offices and places in the state were kept vacant too long, she rose up and said, with more than ordinary warmth, “ That she was sure her place would not be long vacant.”

As to her moderation in religion, it may require

some pause ; because of the severity of the laws, made against her subjects of the Romish persuasion : but I will mention such things as were well known, and carefully observed by myself. It is certain she was, in her sentiments, averse to the forcing of conscience : yet, on the other hand, she would not suffer the state to be endangered, under the pretence of conscience and religion. Hence she concluded, that to allow a liberty and toleration of two religions, by public authority, in a military and high mettled nation, that might easily fall from difference in judgment to blows, would be certain destruction. Thus, in the beginning of her reign, when all things looked suspicious, she kept some of the prelates, who were of a more turbulent and factious spirit, prisoners at large ; though not without the warrant of the law : but to the rest of both orders she used no severe inquisition, but protected them by a generous connivance. And this was the posture of affairs at first. Nor did she abate much of this clemency, though provoked by the excommunication of Pope Pius Quintus ; which might have raised her indignation, and driven her to new measures ; but still she retained her own generous temper. For this prudent courageous lady was not moved with the noise of those terrible threats ; being secure of the fidelity and affection of her subjects, and of the inability of the popish faction within the kingdom to hurt her, unless seconded by a foreign enemy.

But about the three and twentieth year of her reign, the face of affairs changed. This difference of the times is not artfully feigned, to serve

a turn ; but stands expressed in the public records, and engraven, as it were, in leaves of brass. For before that year none of her subjects, of the Roman religion, had been punished with any severity, by the laws formerly enacted. But now the ambitious and monstrous designs of Spain, to conquer this kingdom, began by degrees to open themselves. A principal part of which was, by all public ways and means, to raise a faction, in the heart of the kingdom, of such as were disaffected, and desirous of innovation : in order to join the enemy upon the invasion. Their hopes of effecting this were grounded upon the difference there was amongst us in religion ; whence they resolved to labour this point effectually. And the seminaries at that time budding, priests were sent into England, to sow and raise up an affection for the Romish religion ; to teach and inculcate the validity of the pope's excommunication, in releasing subjects from their allegiance ; and to awaken and prepare men's minds to an expectation of a change in the government.

About the same time Ireland was attempted by an invasion ; and the name and government of Queen Elizabeth vilified and traduced by scandalous libels : in short, there was an unusual swelling in the state ; the prognostic of a greater commotion. Yet I will not affirm that all the priests were concerned in the plot, or privy to the designs then carrying on ; but only that they were corrupt instruments of other men's malice. It is however attested by the confession of many, *that almost all the priests sent into this kingdom*

from the year above mentioned, to the thirtieth year of the queen, wherein the design of Spain and the Pope was put in execution by the Armada, had it in their instructions, among other parts of their function, to insinuate, " That affairs could not possibly continue long as they were ; that they would soon put on a new face ; that the Pope and the Catholic princes would take care for the English state, provided the English were not their own hinderance." Again, some of the priests had manifestly engaged themselves in plots and contrivances, which tended to the undermining and subverting of the government : and as the strongest proof, the whole train of the plot was discovered by letters intercepted from several parts ; wherein it was expressly mentioned, " that the vigilancy of the queen and her council, in respect of the Catholics, would be baffled ; because the queen only watched, that no nobleman or person of distinction should rise to head the Catholic faction ; whereas the design they laid was that all things should be disposed and proposed by private men, of an inferior rank, without their conspiring or consulting together ; but wholly in the secret way of confession." And those were the artifices then practised, which are so familiar and customary to that order of men.

In such an impending storm of dangers, the queen was obliged, by the law of necessity, to restrain such of her subjects as were disaffected and rendered incurable by these poisons ; and who in the mean time began to grow rich by retirement and exemption from public offices :

and accordingly some severer laws were enacted. But the evil daily increasing, and the origin thereof being charged upon the seminary priests bred in foreign parts, and supported by the boundless benevolence of foreign princes, the professed enemies of this kingdom ; which priests had lived in places where the name of Queen Elizabeth was always tacked to the titles of heretic, etc., communicated, and accursed ; and who, though they themselves were not engaged in the treasonable practices, yet were known to be the intimate friends of such as had set their hands to villainies of that kind ; and who by their arts and poisonous insinuations, had infected the whole body of the Catholics, which before was less malignant than there could no other remedy be found, but by forbidding such persons all entrance into the kingdom, upon pain of death : which at last in the twenty-seventh year of her reign, was accordingly enacted.

Yet the event itself, which followed soon after when so violent a storm fell upon this kingdom with all its weight, did not in the least abate the envy and hatred of these men, but rather increased it; as if they had divested themselves of all affection to their country. And afterwards indeed, though our fears of Spain, the occasion of this severity, were abated ; yet because the memory of the former times was deeply impressed in men's minds, and because it would have looked like inconstancy to have abrogated the laws already made, or remissness to have neglected them ; the very constitution and nature of affairs suggested to the queen, that she could not w

safety return to the state of things that obtained before the three and twentieth year of her reign.

To this may be added the industry of some to increase the revenues of the exchequer ; and the earnestness of the ministers of justice, who usually regard no other safety of their country but what consists in the law ; both which called loudly for the laws to be put in execution. However, the queen, as a specimen of her good nature, so far took off the edge of the law, that but a few priests, in proportion, were put to death. And this, we say, not by the way of defence, for the case needs none ; as the safety of the kingdom turned upon it ; and as the measure of all this severity came far short of those bloody massacres, that are scarce fit to be named among Christians, and have proceeded rather from arrogance and malice than from necessity, in the catholic countries, and thus, we think, we have made it appear that the queen was moderate in the point of religion ; and that the change which ensued was not owing to her nature, but to the necessity of the times.

The greatest proof of her constancy in religion and religious worship is, that notwithstanding popery, which in her sister's reign had been strenuously established by public authority, and the utmost diligence, began now to take deep root, and was confirmed by the consent and zeal of all those in office and places of trust ; yet because it was not agreeable to the word of God, nor to the primitive purity, nor to her own conscience, she, with much courage, and with very few helps, extirpated and abolished it. Nor did

she do this precipitantly, or in a heat; but prudently and seasonably, as may appear from many particulars; and among the rest, from a certain answer she occasionally made. For upon her first accession to the throne, when the prisoners according to custom, were released; as she was going to chapel, a courtier, who took a more than ordinary freedom, whether of his own motion, or on the advice of a wiser head, delivered a petition into her hand; and in a great concourse of people shouting aloud, that there were still four or five prisoners unjustly detained; that he came to petition their liberty as well as the rest; and these were the four evangelists and the apostle St. Paul, who had been long imprisoned in an unknown tongue, and not suffered to converse with any people. The queen answered, with great prudence, "That it was best to consult them further whether they were willing to be released or not." And by thus striking a surprising question, without a wary, doubtful answer, she reserved the whole matter entirely in her own breast.

Nor yet did she introduce this alteration timidously, and by fits and starts, but orderly, grave and maturely; after a conference betwixt parties, and calling a parliament: and thus length, within the compass of one year, she ordered and established all things belonging to the church, as not to suffer the least alteration afterwards during her reign. Nay, almost every session of parliament her public admonition was, that no innovation might be made in the discipline or rites of the church. And thus much for religion.

Some of the graver sort may, perhaps, aggravate her levities; in loving to be admired and courted, nay, and to have love poems made on her; and continuing this humour longer than was decent for her years: yet to take even these matters in a milder sense, they claim a due admiration, being often found in fabulous narrations, as that of “A certain queen in the fortunate islands, in whose court love was allowed, but lust banished.” Or if a harsher construction can be put upon them, they are still to be highly admired; as these gaieties did not much eclipse her fame, nor in the least obscure her grandeur, nor injure her government, nor hinder the administration of her affairs: for things of this sort are rarely so well tempered and regulated in princes.

This queen was certainly good and moral; and as such she desired to appear. She hated vice, and studied to grow famous by honourable sources. Thus, for example, having once ordered an express to be written to her ambassador, containing certain instructions, which he was privately to impart to the queen-mother of France, her secretary inserted a clause for the ambassador to use, importing, “That they were two queens, from whose experience and arts of government, no less was expected than from the greatest kings.” She could not bear the comparison, but ordered it to be struck out, saying, “She used quite different arts and methods of government from the queen-mother.”

She was also not a little pleased if any one by chance had dropped such an expression as this,

" That though she had lived in a private station, her excellencies could not have passed unobserved by the eye of the world." So unwilling was she that any of her virtue or praise should be owing to the height of her fortune.

But if I should enter upon her praises, whether moral or political, I must either fall into a common-place of virtues, which will be unworthy of so extraordinary a princess ; or if I would give them their proper grace and lustre, I must enter into a history of her life ; which requires more leisure, and a richer vein than mine. To speak the truth, the only proper encomiast of this lady is time ; which, for so many ages as it has run, never produced any thing like her of the same sex, for the government of a kingdom.

BACON.

J A M E S I.

He was deeply learned, without possessing useful knowledge ; sagacious in many individual cases, without having real wisdom ; fond of his power, and desirous to maintain and augment it, yet willing to resign the direction of that, and of himself, to the most unworthy favourites ; a big and bold asserter of his rights in words, yet one who tamely saw them trampled on in deeds ; a lover of negotiations, in which he was always outwitted ; and a fearer of war, where conquest might have been easy. He was fond of his dignity, while he was perpetually degrading it by undue familiarity ; capable of much *public* labour, yet often neglecting it for the *meanest* amusement ; a wit, though a pedant ;

and a scholar, though fond of the conversation of the ignorant and uneducated. Even his timidity of temper was not uniform; and there were moments of his life, and those critical, in which he showed the spirit of his ancestors. He was laborious in trifles, and a trifler where serious labour was required; devout in his sentiments, and yet too often profane in his language; just and beneficent by nature, he yet gave way to the iniquities and oppression of others. He was penurious respecting money which he had to give from his own hand, yet inconsiderately and unboundedly profuse of that which he did not see. In a word, those good qualities which displayed themselves in particular cases and occasions, were not of a nature sufficiently firm and comprehensive to regulate his general conduct; and, showing themselves as they occasionally did, only entitled James to the character bestowed on him by Sully—that he was the wisest fool in Christendom.

That the fortunes of this monarch might be as little of a piece as his character, he, certainly the least able of the Stuarts, succeeded peaceably to that kingdom, against the power of which his predecessors had, with so much difficulty, defended his native throne. And, lastly, although his reign appeared calculated to ensure to Great Britain that lasting tranquillity and internal peace which so much suited the king's disposition, yet, during that very reign, were sown those seeds of dissension, which, like the teeth of the fabulous dragon, had their harvest in a bloody and universal civil war.

SIR W. SCOTT.

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James was of a middle stature, of a fine complexion, and a soft skin ; his person plump, but not corpulent ; his eyes large and rolling, beard thin, his tongue too big for his mouth ; his countenance disagreeable, his air awkward, and his gait remarkably ungraceful, from a weakness in his knees that prevented his walking without assistance ; he was tolerably temperate in his diet, but drank of little else than rich and strong wines. His character, from the variety of grotesque qualities that compose it, is not easy to be delineated. The virtues he possessed were so loaded with a greater proportion of their neighbouring vices, that they exhibit no lights to set off the dark shades ; his principles of generosity were tainted by such a childish profusion, that they left him without means of paying his just obligations, and subjected him to the necessity of attempting irregular, illegal, and unjust methods of acquiring money. His friendship, not to give it the name of vice, was directed by so puerile a fancy and so absurd a caprice, that the objects of it were contemptible, and its consequences attended with such an unmerited profusion of favours, that it was, perhaps, the most exceptionable quality of any he possessed. His distinctions were formed on principles of selfishness ; he valued no person for any endowments that could not be made subservient to his pleasures or his interest, and thus he rarely advanced any man of real worth to preferment. His familiar conversation, both in writing and in speaking, *was stuffed* with vulgar and indecent phrases.

Though proud and arrogant in his temper, and full of the importance of his station, he descended to buffoonery, and suffered his favourites to address him in the most disrespectful terms of gross familiarity.

Himself affected a sententious wit, but rose no higher in those attempts than to quaint, and often stale, conceits. His education had been a more learned one than is commonly bestowed on princes: this, from the conceit it gave him, turned out a very disadvantageous circumstance, by contracting his opinions to his own narrow views. His pretences to a consummate knowledge in divinity, politics, and the art of governing, exposed him to a high degree of ridicule; his conduct showing him more than commonly deficient in all these points. His romantic idea of the natural rights of princes caused him publicly to avow pretensions that impressed into the minds of the people an incurable jealousy; this, with an affectation of a profound skill in the art of dissembling, or king-craft, as he termed it, rendered him the object of fear and distrust; when, at the same time, he was himself the only dupe to an impertinent, useless hypocrisy.

If the laws and constitution of England received no prejudice from his government, it was owing to his want of ability to effect a change suitable to the purpose of an arbitrary sway. Stained with these vices, and sullied with these weaknesses, if he is even exempt from our hatred, the exemption must arise from motives of contempt. Despicable as he appears through his own Britannic government, his behaviour when king of Scot-

land was in many points unexceptionable ; but, intoxicated with the power he received over a people whose privileges were but feebly established, and who had been long subjected to civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, he at once flung off the moderation that hid his deformities from the common eye. It is alleged that the corruption he met with in the court of England, and the timeserving genius of the English noblemen, were the great means that debauched him from his circumspect conduct. Among the forwardest of the worthless tribe was Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, who told him on his coming to the crown, that he should find his English subjects like asses, on whom he might lay any burthen, and should need neither bit nor bridle, but their asses' ears.

MACAULEY.

C H A R L E S I.

IN the character of Charles, as represented by his panegyrists, we find the qualities of temperance, chastity, regularity, piety, equity, humanity, dignity, condescension, and equanimity : some have gone so far as to allow him integrity ; and many writers, who condemn his political principles, give him the title of a moral man. In the comparison of this representation with Charles's conduct, accurately and justly described, it is discernible that vices of the worst tendency, when shaded by a plausible and formal carriage, when concordant to the interests of a faction, and the prejudices of the vulgar, assume the

appearances of, and are imposed on the credulous world as, virtues of the first rank. Passion for power was Charles's predominant vice, idolatry to his regal prerogatives his governing principle. The interests of the crown legitimated every measure, and sanctified, in his eye, the widest deviation from moral rule.

Neither gratitude, clemency, humanity, equity, nor generosity, have place in the fair part of Charles's character ; of the virtues of temperance, fortitude, and personal bravery, he was undeniably possessed. His manners partook of dissipation, and his conversation of the indecency of a court. His chastity has been called in question by an author of the highest repute ; and were it allowed, it was tainted by an excess of uxoriousness, which gave it the properties of the consequences of vice. The want of integrity is manifest in every part of his conduct ; which, whether the corruption of his judgment or his heart, lost him fair opportunities of reinstatement in the throne, and was the vice for which, above all others, he paid the tribute of his life. His intellectual powers were naturally good, and so improved by a continual exercise, that though in the beginning of his reign he spoke with difficulty and hesitation, towards the close of his life he discovered in his writings purity of language and dignity of style ; in his debates, elocution and quickness of perception. The high opinion he entertained of regal dignity occasioned him to observe a stateliness and imperiousness in his manner, which, to the rational and intelligent, was unamiable and offensive : by the weak and formal it was *mistaken for dignity.*

In the exercise of horsemanship he excelled ; had a good taste, and even skill, in several of the polite arts ; but though a proficient in some branches of literature, was no encourager of useful learning, and only patronized adepts in jargon of the divine right and utility of kings and bishops. His understanding in this point was so depraved by the prejudices of his education and flattery of priests, and the affections of his heart, that he would never endure conversation which tended to inculcate the principles of equal right in men ; and notwithstanding that the particularity of his station enforced his attention to doctrines of this kind, he went out of the world with the same fond prejudices with which he had been fostered in his nursery, and cajoled in the zenith of his power. Charles was of a middle stature ; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned ; and his aspect melancholy, yet not unpleasing.

MACAULEY.

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To speak first of his private qualifications as a man, before the mention of his princely and royal virtues ; he was, if ever any, the most worthy of the title of an honest man ; so great a lover of justice, that no temptation could dispose him to a wrongful action, except it was so disguised to him that he believed it to be just. He had a tenderness and compassion of nature, which restrained him from ever doing a hard hearted thing : and therefore he was so apt to grant pardon to malefactors, that the judges of the land represented to him the damage and insecurity to *the public* that flowed from such his indulgence.

And then he restrained himself from pardoning either murders or highway robberies, and quickly discerned the fruits of his severity by a wonderful reformation of those enormities. He was very punctual and regular in his devotions ; he was never known to enter upon his recreations or sports, though never so early in the morning, before he had been at public prayers ; so that on hunting days his chaplains were bound to a very early attendance. He was likewise very strict in observing the hours of his private and cabinet devotions ; and was so severe an exactor of gravity and reverence in all mention of religion, that he could never endure any light or profane word, with what sharpness of wit soever it was covered : and though he was well pleased and delighted with reading verses made upon any occasion, no man durst bring before him any thing that was profane or unclean. That kind of wit had never any countenance then. He was so great an example of conjugal affection, that they who did not imitate him in that particular durst not brag of their liberty : and he did not only permit, but direct his bishops to prosecute those scandalous vices, in the ecclesiastical courts, against persons of eminence, and near relation to his service.

His kingly virtues had some mixture and alloy that hindered them from shining in full lustre, and from producing those fruits they should have been attended with. He was not in his nature very bountiful, though he gave very much. This appeared more after the Duke of Buckingham's death, after which those showers fell very rarely ; and he paused too long in giving, which made

those to whom he gave less sensible of the benefit. He kept state to the full, which made his court very orderly ; no man presuming to be seen in a place where he had no pretence to be. He saw and observed men long, before he received them about his person ; and did not love strangers, nor very confident men. He was a patient hearer of causes ; which he frequently accustomed himself to at the council board ; and judged very well, and was dexterous at the mediating part : so that he often put an end to causes by persuasion, which the stubbornness of men's humours made dilatory in courts of justice.

He was very fearless in his person ; but in his riper years not very enterprising. He had an excellent understanding, but was not confident enough of it ; which made him oftentimes change his own opinion for a worse, and follow the advice of men that did not judge so well as himself. This made him more irresolute than the conjuncture of his affairs would admit : if he had been of a rougher and more imperious nature, he would have found more respect and duty. And his not applying some severe cures to approaching evils proceeded from the lenity of his nature, and the tenderness of his conscience, which, in all cases of blood, made him choose the softer way, and not hearken to severe counsels, how reasonably soever urged. This only restrained him from pursuing his advantage in the first Scottish expedition, when, humanly speaking, he might have reduced that nation to the most entire obedience that could have been wished. But no *man can say* he had then many who advised him

to it, but the contrary, by a wonderful indisposition all his council had to the war, or any other fatigue. He was always a great lover of the Scottish nation, having not only been born there, but educated by that people, and besieged by them always, having few English about him, till he was king; and the major number of his servants being still of that nation, who he thought could never fail him. And among these, no man had such an ascendant over him, by the humblest insinuations, as Duke Hamilton had.

As he excelled in all other virtues, so in temperance he was so strict that he abhorred all debauchery to that degree, that, at a great festival solemnity where he was, when very many of the nobility of the English and Scots were entertained, being told by one who withdrew from thence what vast draughts of wine they drank, and "that there was one earl who had drunk most of the rest down, and was not himself moved or altered;" the king said, "that he deserved to be hanged;" and that earl coming shortly after into the room where his majesty was, in some gaiety, to show how unhurt he was from that battle, the king sent one to bid him withdraw from his majesty's presence; nor did he in some days after appear before him.

So many miraculous circumstances contributed to his ruin, that men might well think that heaven and earth conspired it. Though he was, from the first declension of his power, so much betrayed by his own servants, that there were very few who remained faithful to him, yet that treachery proceeded not always from any treason-

able purpose to do him any harm, but from particular and personal animosities against other men. And, afterwards, the terror all men were under of the parliament, and the guilt they were conscious of themselves, made them watch all opportunities to make themselves gracious to those who could do them good; and so they became spies upon their master, and from one piece of knavery were hardened and confirmed to undertake another; till at last they had no hope of preservation but by the destruction of their master. And after all this, when a man might reasonably believe that less than a universal defection of three nations could not have reduced a great king to so ugly a fate, it is most certain, that, in that very hour when he was thus wickedly murdered in the sight of the sun, he had as great a share in the hearts and affections of his subjects in general, was as much beloved, esteemed, and longed for by the people in general of the three nations, as any of his predecessors had ever been. To conclude, he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian that the age in which he lived produced. And if he were not the greatest king, if he were without some parts and qualities which have made some kings great and happy, no other prince was ever unhappy who was possessed of half his virtues and endowments, and so much without any kind of vice.

CLARENDON.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

OLIVER Cromwell was sprung from a noble and illustrious family. The name was famous of old under the kings for skill in the administration of public affairs; and it grew more famous in consequence of the orthodox or reformed religion being at the same period established among us for the first time. He grew up in the privacy of his own family, and till his age was quite mature and settled, which he also passed in private, was chiefly known for his strict attendance upon the purer worship, and for his integrity of life. He had cherished his confidence in God, he had nursed his great spirit in silence, for some extraordinary times. When a parliament was at last called by the king, he was returned member for his own town; and immediately became conspicuous for the justness of his opinions, and the firmness of his counsels. When the appeal was made to arms, he is appointed, by his own choice, to a troop of horse; and as his force was augmented by the eager zeal of the good, who flocked from all quarters to his standard, he soon surpassed almost the greatest generals in the grandeur of his achievements, and in the rapidity with which they were executed. Nor is this to be wondered at: for, he was a soldier, above all others the most exercised in the knowledge of himself; he had either destroyed, or reduced to his own control, all enemies within his own breast—vain hopes, fears, desires. A commander first over himself, the conqueror of himself, it was over

himself he had learned most to triumph. Hence, he went to encounter with an external enemy as a veteran accomplished in all military duties, from the day he first entered the camp. It would not be possible for me, within the limits of this eulogium, to follow him with all suitable dignity through so many captured cities, so many battles, and those of the greatest order, in none of which was he ever conquered or put to flight; but he traversed the whole circle of Britain in one continued series of victories—victories, which demand the great work of a regular history; another field, as it were, on which they may be told; a space for narration equal to the things to be described. To evince his extraordinary, his little less than divine virtue, this mark will suffice; that there lived in him an energy whether of spirit and genius, or of discipline, established not by military rule only, but by the rule of Christ and of sanctity, that he drew all to his camp, as to the best school both of military science, and of religion and piety—nay, those who were already good and brave, from all parts, or made them such principally by his own example; and although there were many who opposed him, retained them in their duty (and yet retains) during the whole period of the war, sometimes even of an intervening peace, through so many changes of minds and of circumstances, not by largesses and military licence, but by his authority and their pay alone: and greater praise than this we are not wont to bestow either upon Cyrus, Epaminondas, or upon any of the first generals of antiquity. Hence it is, that no one ever raised for himself a larger or

better disciplined army in shorter time, obedient in all things to the word of command, welcome to the citizens and beloved by them ; to its enemies in arms terrible indeed, but when reduced to peaceable subjection, the objects of their admiration : for so far from being oppressive and mischievous, when quartered in their fields and houses, when those enemies recollect ed the violence, the drunkenness, the impiety and lust of their own royalists, they were happy at the change, and now thought themselves visited not by enemies, but by guests ; a protection to the good, a terror to the evil, the encourager to all virtue and piety.

MILTON.

* * * *

He was one of those men, *quos vituperare nemini quidem possunt, nisi ut simul laudent* ; whom his very enemies could not condemn without commanding him at the same time : for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of courage, industry, and judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the natures and humours of men, and as great a dexterity in applying them ; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good family), without interest or estate, alliance or friendship, could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humours, and interests into a consistence that contributed to his designs and to their own destruction ; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to

demolish their own building. What was said of Cinna may very justly be said of him, *ausum cum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ a nullo, nisi fortissimo, perfici possent*: he attempted those things which no good man durst have ventured on ; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of religion and moral honesty ; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished these designs, without the assistance of a great spirit, an admirable circumspection and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

When he appeared first in the parliament, he seemed to have a person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those talents which used to conciliate the affections of the stander by : yet as he grew into place and authority, his parts seemed to be raised as he had occasion to use them ; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without an indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom.

After he was confirmed and invested Protect by the humble Petition and Advice, he consult with very few upon any action of importan nor communicated any enterprise he resolv upon, with more than those who were to h principal parts in the execution of it ; nor v them sooner than was absolutely necessary. W he once resolved, in which he was not rash would not be dissuaded from, nor endure

contradiction of his power and authority ; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary tax upon the city, one Cony, an eminent fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part ; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, “ as an imposition notoriously against the law, and the property of the subject, which all honest men were bound to defend.” Cromwell sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of “ the old kindness and friendship that had been between them ; and that of all men he did not expect this opposition from him, in a matter that was so necessary for the good of the commonwealth. It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him ; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature ; so this man remembered him how great an enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, “ that all who submitted to them, and paid illegal taxes, were more to blame, and greater enemies to their country, than they who had imposed them ; and that the tyranny of princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the people.” When Cromwell saw that he could not convert him, he told him, “ that he had a will as stubborn as his, and he would try which of them two should be master.” Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and contempt, he com-

mitted the man to prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the term came, he brought his Habeas Corpus in the King's Bench, which they then called the Upper Bench. Maynard, who was of council with the prisoner, demanded his liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful authority. The judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their sentence would be; and therefore the protector's attorney required a further day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, Maynard was committed to the Tower for presuming to question or make doubt of his authority; and the judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that licence; when they, with all humility, mentioned the law and Magna Charta, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt and derision, "their Magna F—— should not control his actions; which he knew were for the safety of the commonwealth." He asked them, "who made them judges? whether they had any authority to sit there, but what he gave them? and if his authority were at an end, they knew well enough what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;" and so dismissed them with caution "that they should not suffer the lawyers to prate what it would not become them to hear."

Thus he subdued a spirit that had been often troublesome to the most sovereign power, and

made Westminster Hall as obedient and subservient to his commands as any of the rest of his quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing between party and party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation and haughtiness with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good pleasure, and courted his protection, he used great civility, generosity, and bounty.

To reduce three nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his dictates ; to awe and govern those nations by an army that was indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their honour and their interest to his pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which there needs only two instances. The first is, when those of the valley of Lucerne had unwarily risen in arms against the Duke of Savoy, which gave occasion to the Pope and the neighbouring princes of Italy to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their prince positively resolved upon it, Cromwell sent his agent to the Duke of Savoy, a prince with whom he had no correspondence or commerce, and so *engaged the cardinal*, and even terrified the pope

himself, without so much as doing any grace to the English Roman Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying, “that his ships in the Mediterranean should visit Civita Vecchia; and that the sound of his cannon should be heard in Rome),” that the duke of Savoy thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those privileges they had formerly enjoyed and newly forfeited.

The other instance of his authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supreme minister in all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was: to which they answered, “They were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election should be fairly made.” The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with *all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town,* went together in their

robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket-shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded, whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the other, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court, with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact: " And that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places of the province; but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferior to those of the Catholics." The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France; with whom they were heartily offended: and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see this executed with the utmost rigour.

Those of the religion in the town were quickly

sensible into what condition they had brought themselves ; and sent with all possible submission to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did. The magistrates answered, “ That they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage ; but they could say nothing upon the subject, till the king’s pleasure should be known ; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed.” The others very well knew what the king’s pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bade him “ refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business that by the time he came to Paris he should find it dispatched ;” and, that night, sent away another messenger to his ambassador Lockhart ; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march towards Nismes ; and, within a few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never further mention made of it ; but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that nobody can wonder that his memory remains still in those *parts, and with those people, in great veneration.*

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the cardinal, alleging, "that the people would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day he visited Madam Turenne; and when he took his leave of her, she, according to her custom, besought him to continue gracious to the churches. Whereupon the cardinal told her, "That he knew not how to behave himself: if he advised the king to punish and suppress their insolence, Cromwell threatened him to join the Spaniards; and if he showed any favour to them, at Rome they accounted him a heretic."

To conclude his character, Cromwell was not so far a man of blood as to follow Machiavel's method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their families, who are friends to the old one. It was confidently reported that, in the council of officers, it was more than once proposed, "That there might be a general massacre of all the royal party, as the only expedient to secure the government;" but that Cromwell would never consent to it, it may be, out of too great a contempt of his enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many crimes, against which damnation is denounced, and for which hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good qualities which have caused the memory of some men in all ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by posterity as a brave wicked man.

CLARENDON.

CROMWELL AND FAIRFAX COMPARED.

FAIRFAX was an admirable officer ; but it will be decided by all posterity, as it was decided by their contemporaries, that it was impossible to name a man in the island of so consummate a military genius, so thoroughly qualified to conduct the war with a victorious event, as Cromwell. He was also, whatever some historians have said on the subject, of scarcely less weight in the senate than in the field. Cromwell was besides an accomplished statesman. There was in this respect a striking contrast between him and Fairfax. Fairfax, richly endowed with those qualities which make a successful commander, was in council as innocent and unsuspecting as a child. He had great coolness of temper, an eye to take in the whole disposition of a field, and to remark all the advantages which its position afforded ; and a temper happily poised between the yielding and severe, so as to command the most ready obedience, and to preserve a perfect discipline. Fairfax was formed for the executive branch of the military in the largest sense of that term. But in all that related to government and a state, he seemed intuitively to feel a desire to be guided. He was not acquainted with the innermost folds of the human character, and was therefore perpetually liable to the chance of being led and misled. He was guided by Cromwell ; he was guided by his wife ; and, if he had fallen into hands less qualified for the office, he would have been guided by them. But Cromwell saw

into the hearts of men : he could adapt himself, in a degree at least exceeding every character of modern times, to the persons with whom he had dealings. He was most at home perhaps with the soldiers of his army : he could pray with them ; he could jest with them : in every thing by which the heart of a man could in a manner be drawn out of his bosom to devote itself to the service of another, he was a consummate master. It was not because he was susceptible only of the rugged and the coarse, that he was so eminently a favourite with the private soldier. He was the friend of the mercurial and light-hearted Henry Marten. He gained for a time the entire ascendency over the gentle, the courteous, the well bred, and the manly earl of Manchester. He was the sworn brother of Sir Henry Vane. He deceived Fairfax ; he deceived Milton.

GODWIN.



CHARLES II.

THUS died King Charles II. He was of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues, and many great imperfections ; debonair, easy of access, not bloody or cruel ; his countenance fierce, his voice great, proper of person, every motion became him ; a lover of the sea, and skilful in shipping ; not affecting other studies ; yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empirical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics ; he loved planting and build-

ing, and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense. He had a peculiar talent in telling a story and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable: this made some buffoons and vicious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abused. He took delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bedchamber, where he often suffered the bitches to puppy and give suck, which rendered it very offensive, and indeed made the whole court nasty and stinking. He would doubtless have been an excellent prince had he been less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and always in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to the detriment of many indigent persons, who had signally served both him and his father. He frequently and easily changed favourites, to his great prejudice. As to other public transactions and unhappy miscarriages, it is not here I intend to number them; but certainly never had king more glorious opportunities to have made himself, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischiefs, had not his too easy nature resigned him to be managed by crafty men, and some abandoned and profane wretches, who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplined as he had been by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things; but those wicked creatures took him off from all application becoming so great a king. The history of his reign will certainly be *wonderful* for the variety of matter and accidents

above any extent in former ages. The sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restoration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions; and therefore I cannot, without ingratitude, but deplore his loss, which, for many respects, as well as duty, I do with all my soul.

EVELYN.

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The person given to us by Monk was a man without any sense of his duty as a prince, without any regard to the dignity of his crown, and without any love to his people; dissolute, false, venal, and destitute of any positive good quality whatsoever, except a pleasant temper, and the manners of a gentleman.

BURKE.

JAMES II.

THE opposition of James's religious principles to those of his subjects, his unpopular connexions with the court of France; but, above all, the permanent establishment of a rival family on the throne of England, has formed in his disfavour such a union of prejudice and interest, as to destroy in the minds of posterity all that sympathy which, on similar occasions, and in similar misfortunes, has so wonderfully operated in favour of other princes; and whilst we pay the tribute of unavailing tears over the memory of Charles

the First; whilst, with the church of England, we venerate him as a martyr to the power and office of prelates; whilst we see, with regret, that he was stripped of his dignity and life at the very time when the chastening hand of affliction had, in a great measure, corrected the errors of a faulty education; the irresistible power of truth must oblige us to confess, that the adherence to religious principles, which cost the father his life, deprived the son of his dominions; that the enormous abuses of power with which both sovereigns are accused owed their origin to the same source; the errors arising from a bad education, aggravated and extended by the impious flattery of designing priests; we shall also be obliged to confess, that the parliament itself, by an unprecedented servility, helped to confirm James in the exalted idea he had entertained of the royal office, and that the doctrines of an absolute and unconditional submission on the part of subjects, which, in the reign of his father, was in a great measure confined to the precepts of a Laud, a Sibthorpe, and Maynwaring, were now taught as the avowed doctrines of the church of England, were acknowledged by the two Universities, and implicitly avowed by a large majority of the nation: so great, indeed, was the change in the temper, manners, and opinions of the people, from the commencement of the reign of his son James, that at this shameful period the people gloried in having laid all their privileges at the foot of the throne, and execrated every generous principle of freedom, as arising from a spirit totally incompatible with the peace of so-

cietiy, and altogether repugnant to the doctrines of Christianity.

This was the situation of affairs at the accession of the unfortunate James ; and had he been equally unprincipled as his brother, the deceased king ; had he professed himself a Protestant, whilst he was in his heart a Papist ; had he not regarded it as his duty to use his omnipotent power for the restoring to some parts of its ancient dignity a church which he regarded as the only true church of Christ ; or had he, instead of attacking the prerogative of the prelacy, suffered them to share the regal despotism which they had fixed on the basis of conscience, the most flagrant abuses of civil power would never have been called in judgment against him, and parliament themselves would have lent their constitutional authority to have riveted the chains of the empire in such a manner as should have put it out of the power of the most determined votaries of freedom to have reestablished the government on its ancient foundation. From this immediate evil England owes its deliverance to the bigoted sincerity of James ; a circumstance which ought, in some measure, to conciliate our affection to the memory of the sufferer, and induce us to treat those errors with lenity, which have led to the enjoyment of privileges which can never be entirely lost, but by a general corruption of principle and depravity of manners.

It was said by the witty duke of Buckingham, " that Charles the Second might do well if he would, and that James would do well if he could," an observation which says little for the

understanding of James, but a great deal for his heart; and, with all the blemishes with which his public character is stained, he was not deficient in several qualities necessary to compose a good sovereign. His industry and attention to business were exemplary; he was frugal of the public money; he cherished and extended the maritime power of the empire; and his encouragement of trade was attended with such success that, according to the observation of the impartial historian Ralph, as the frugality of his administration helped to increase the number of malcontents, so his extreme attention to trade was not less alarming to the whole body of the Dutch, than his resolution not to rush into a war with France was mortifying to their stadholder.

In domestic life the character of James, though not irreproachable, was comparatively good. It is true, he was in a great measure tainted with that licentiousness of manners which at this time pervaded the whole society, and which reigned triumphant within the circle of the court; but he was never carried into any excesses which trench'd deeply upon the duties of social life; and if the qualities of his heart were only to be judged by his different conduct in the different characters of husband, father, master, and friend, he might be pronounced a man of very amiable disposition. But those who know not how to forgive injuries, and can never pardon the errors, the infirmities, the vices, or even the virtues of their fellow-creatures, when in any respect they affect personal interest or inclination, will aim against *them* the sensibility of every humane mind, and

can never expect from others that justice and commiseration which themselves have never exercised : but whilst we execrate that rancorous cruelty with which James, in the short hour of triumph, persecuted all those who endeavoured to thwart his ambitious hopes, it is but justice to observe that the rank vices of pride, malice, and revenge which blacken his conduct, whilst he figured in the station of presumptive heir to the crown, and afterwards in the character of sovereign, on the successful quelling of the Monmouth rebellion, were thoroughly corrected by the chastening hand of affliction : that the whole period of his life, from his return to Ireland to the day of his death, was spent in the exercise of the first Christian virtues, patience, fortitude, humility, and resignation. Bretonneau, his biographer, records that he always spoke with an extreme moderation of the individuals who had acted the most successfully in his disfavour ; that he reproved those who mentioned their conduct with severity ; that he read, even with a stoical apathy, the bitterest writings which were published against him ; that he regarded the loss of empire as a necessary correction of the misdemeanours of his life, and even rebuked those who expressed any concern for the issue of events, which he respected as ordinations of the divine will.

According to the same biographer, James was exact in his devotion, moderate even to abstinence in his life ; full of sentiments of the highest contrition for past offences ; and, according to the discipline of the Romish church, was very severe in the austerities which he inflicted on his per-

son. As this prince justly regarded himself as a martyr to the Catholic faith, as his warmest friends were all of this persuasion, as his conversation in his retirement at St. Germains was, in a great measure, confined to priests and devotees, it is natural that his superstition should increase with the increase of religious sentiment; and as he had made use of his power and authority, whilst in England, to enlarge the number of proselytes to popery, so, in a private station, he laboured incessantly, by prayer, and exhortation, and example, to confirm the piety of his popish adherents, and to effect a reformation in those who still continued firm to the doctrines of the church of England. He visited the monks of La Trappe once a year, the severest order of religionists in France; and his conformity to the discipline of the convent was so strict and exact, that he impressed those devotees with sentiments of admiration at his piety, humility, and constancy.

Thus having spent twelve years with a higher degree of peace and tranquillity than he had ever experienced in the most triumphant part of his life, he was seized with a palsy in September, 1701; and, after having languished fifteen days, died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, having filled up the interval between his first seizure and final exit with the whole train of religious exercises enjoined on similar occasions by the church of Rome, with solemn and repeated professions of his faith, and earnest exhortation of his two children, the youngest of whom was born in the second year of his exile, to keep steadfast to the religion in which they had been educated.

These precepts and commands have acted with a force superior to all the temptations of a crown, and have been adhered to with a firmness which obliges an historian to acknowledge the superiority which James's descendants, in the nice points of honour and conscience, have gained over the character of Henry the Fourth, who, at that period when he was looked up to as the greatest hero of the protestant cause, made no scruple to accept the crown on the disgraceful terms of abjuring the principles of the reformation, and embracing the principles of a religion, which, from his early infancy, he had been taught to regard as idolatrous and profane.

The dominion of error over the minds of the generality of mankind is irresistible. James, to the last hour of his life, continued as great a bigot to his political as his religious errors : he could not help considering the strength and power of the crown as a circumstance necessary to the preservation and happiness of the people ; and in a letter of advice which he wrote to his son, whilst he conjures him to pay a religious observance to all the duties of a good sovereign, he cautions him against suffering any entrenchment on the royal prerogative. Among several heads, containing excellent instructions on the art of reigning happily and justly, he warns the young prince never to disquiet his subjects in their property or their religion ; and, what is remarkable, to his last breath, he persisted in asserting, that he never attempted to subvert the laws, or procure more than a toleration and equality of privilege to his Catholic subjects.

As there is great reason to believe this assertion to be true, it shows that the delusion was incurable under which the king laboured, by the trust he had put in the knavish doctrines of lawyers and priests; and that neither himself nor his Protestant abettors could fathom the consequences of that enlarged toleration which he endeavoured to establish.

MACAULEY.

KING WILLIAM III.

WILLIAM the Third, king of Great Britain and Ireland, was in his person of middle size, ill shaped in his limbs, somewhat round in his shoulders, light in the colour of his hair and in his complexion. The lines of his face were hard, and his nose was aquiline; but a good and penetrating eye threw a kind of light on his countenance, which tempered its severity, and rendered his harsh features, in some measure, agreeable. Though his constitution was weak, delicate, and infirm, he loved the manly exercises of the field; and often indulged himself in the pleasures, and even sometimes in the excesses of the table. In his private character he was frequently harsh, passionate, and severe, with regard to trifles; but when the subject rose equal to his mind, and in the tumult of battle, he was dignified, cool, and serene. Though he was apt to form bad impressions, which were not easily removed, he was neither vindictive in his disposition, nor obstinate in his resentment. Neglected in his education, and, perhaps, destitute by nature of an elegance

of mind, he had no taste for literature, none for the sciences, none for the beautiful arts. He paid no attention to music, he understood no poetry ; he disregarded learning, he encouraged no men of letters, no painters, no artists of any kind. In fortification and the mathematics he had a considerable degree of knowledge. Though unsuccessful in the field, he understood military operations by land ; but he neither possessed nor pretended to any skill in maritime affairs.

In the distribution of favours he was cold and injudicious. In the punishment of crimes often too easy, and sometimes too severe. He was parsimonious where he should have been liberal ; where he ought to be sparing, frequently profuse. In his temper he was silent and reserved, in his address ungraceful ; and though not destitute of dissimulation, and qualified for intrigue, less apt to conceal his passions than his designs : these defects, rather than vices of the mind, combining with an indifference about humouring mankind through their ruling passions, rendered him extremely unfit for gaining the affections of the English nation. His reign, therefore, was crowded with mortifications of various kinds ; the discontented parties among his subjects found no difficulty in estranging the minds of the people from a prince possessed of few talents to make him popular. He was trusted, perhaps, less than he deserved, by the most obsequious of his parliament ; but it seems, upon the whole, apparent that the nation adhered to his government more from a fear of the return of his predecessor, than from any attachment to his own person, or respect for his *right to the throne.*

MACPHERSON.

QUEEN ANNE.

THUS died Anne Stuart, queen of Great Britain and Ireland, in the fiftieth year of her age, and thirteenth of her reign. In her person she was of a middle stature, and before she bore children well made. Her hair was dark, her complexion sanguine, her features strong, but not irregular; her whole countenance more dignified than agreeable. In the accomplishments of the mind, as a woman, she was not deficient: she understood music; she loved painting: she had even some taste for works of genius; she was always generous; sometimes liberal, but never profuse. Like the rest of the family, she was good natured to a degree of weakness; indolent in her disposition, timid by nature, devoted to the company of her favourites, easily led. She possessed all the virtues of her father, except political courage; she was subject to all his weaknesses, except enthusiasm in religion; she was jealous of her authority, and sullenly irreconcilable towards those who treated either herself or prerogative with disrespect; but, like him also, she was much better qualified to discharge the duties of a private life, than to act the part of a sovereign. As a friend, a mother, a wife, she deserved every praise. Her conduct as a daughter could scarcely be exceeded by a virtue much superior to all these. Upon the whole, though her reign was crowded with great events, she cannot, with any justice, be called a great princess. Subject to terror, beyond the constitutional timidity of her

sex, she was altogether incapable of decisive counsels; and nothing but her irresistible popularity could have supported her authority amidst the ferment of those distracted times.

MACPHERSON.

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STUART,

As to his person, he is tall and well made, but stoops a little, owing perhaps to the great fatigue which he underwent in his northern expedition. He has a handsome face and good eyes (I think his busts, which about this time were commonly sold in London, are more like him than any of his pictures which I have yet seen); but in a polite company he would not pass for a genteel man. He hath a quick apprehension, and speaks French, Italian, and English; the last with a little of a foreign accent. As to the rest, very little care seems to have been taken of his education. He had not made the belles lettres or any of the finer arts his study, which surprised me much, considering his preceptors, and the noble opportunities he must have always had in that nursery of all the elegant and liberal arts and sciences. But I was still more astonished when I found him unacquainted with the history and constitution of England, in which he ought to have been very early instructed. I never heard him express any noble or benevolent sentiments, the certain indications of a great soul and a good heart; or discover any sorrow or compassion for

the misfortunes of so many worthy men who had suffered in his cause *.

But the worst part of his character is his love of money, a vice which I do not remember to have been imputed by our historians to any of his ancestors, and is the certain index of a base and little mind. I know it may be urged in his vindication, that a prince in exile ought to be an economist. And so he ought; but nevertheless his purse should be always open, as long as there is any thing in it, to relieve the necessities of his friends and adherents. King Charles the Second, during his banishment, would have shared the last pistole in his pocket with his little family. But I have known this gentleman, with two thousand louis-d'ors in his strong box, pretend he was in great distress, and borrow money from a lady in Paris, who was not in affluent circumstances. His most faithful servants, who had closely attended him in all his difficulties, were ill rewarded. Two Frenchmen, who had left every thing to follow his fortune, who had been sent as couriers half through Europe, and executed their commissions with great punctuality and exactness, were suddenly discharged, without any fault imputed to them, or any recompense

* As to his religion, he is certainly free from all bigotry and superstition, and would readily conform to the religion of the country. With the catholics he is a catholic; with the protestants he is a protestant: and, to convince the latter of his sincerity, he often carried an English Common Prayer Book in his pocket; and sent to Gordon (whom I have mentioned before), a nonjuring clergyman, to christen the first child he had by Mrs. W.

for their past services. To this spirit of avarice may be added his insolent manner of treating his immediate dependants, very unbecoming a great prince, and a sure prognostic of what might be expected from him if ever he acquired sovereign power. Sir J. Harrington and Colonel Goring, who suffered themselves to be imprisoned with him, when the rest of his family and attendants fled, were afterwards obliged to quit his service on account of his illiberal behaviour. But there is one part of his character which I must particularly insist on, since it occasioned the defection of the most powerful of his friends and adherents in England, and by some concurring accidents totally blasted all his hopes and pretensions. When he was in Scotland, he had a mistress, whose name is Walkenshaw, and whose sister was at that time, and still is, housekeeper at Leicester House. Some years after he was released from his prison, and conducted out of France, he sent for this girl, who soon acquired such a dominion over him, that she was acquainted with all his schemes, and trusted with his most secret correspondence. As soon as this was known in England, all those persons of distinction who were attached to him were greatly alarmed; they imagined that this wench had been placed in his family by the English ministers; and, considering her sister's situation, they seemed to have some ground for their suspicion; wherefore they dispatched a gentleman to Paris, where the prince then was, who had instructions to insist that Mrs. Walkenshaw should be removed to a convent for a certain time; but her gallant abso-

lutely refused to comply with this demand : a although Mr. M'Namara, the gentleman who w sent to him, who had a natural eloquence, a an excellent understanding, urged the most cog reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion induce him to part with his mistress, and ev proceeded so far as to assure him, according his instructions, that an immediate interrupt of all correspondence with his most power friends in England ; and, in short, that the r of his interest, which was now daily increasi would be the infallible consequence of his re sal ; yet he continued inflexible, and all M'N mara's entreaties and remonstrances were in fectual. M'Namara staid in Paris some da beyond the time prescribed him, endeavouring reason the prince into a better temper ; but fin ing him obstinately persevere in his first answ he took his leave with concern and indignati saying, as he passed out, " What has your fam done, sir, thus to draw down the vengeance Heaven on every branch of it through so ma ages ?" It is worthy of remark, that in all conferences which M'Namara had with the pri on this occasion, the latter declared, that it v not a violent passion, or indeed any particular gard *, which attached him to Mrs. Walkensha

* I believe he spoke the truth when he declared he ha esteem for his northern mistress, although she had bee companion for so many years. She had no elegance of n bers : and as they had both contracted an odious habi drinking, so they exposed themselves very frequently, only to their own family, but to all their neighbours. They often quarrelled, and sometimes fought. They were som these drunken scenes which, probably, occasioned the re of his madness.

and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but he would not receive directions, in respect to his private conduct, from any man alive.—When M'Namara returned to London, and reported the prince's answer to the gentlemen who had employed him, they were astonished and confounded. However, they soon resolved on the measures which they were to pursue for the future, and determined no longer to serve a man who could not be persuaded to serve himself, and chose rather to endanger the lives of his best and most faithful friends, than part with a harlot, whom, as he often declared, he neither loved nor esteemed. If ever that old adage, *Quos Jupiter vult perdere, &c.* could be properly applied to any person, whom could it so well fit as the gentleman of whom I have been speaking? for it is difficult by any other means to account for such a sudden infatuation. He was, indeed, soon afterwards made sensible of his misconduct, when it was too late to repair it: for from this era may truly be dated the ruin of his cause; which, for the future, can only subsist in the nonjuring congregations, which are generally of the meanest people, from whom no danger to the present government need ever be apprehended.

DR. W. KING.

GEORGE II.

THE king is in his seventy-fifth year; but temperance and an excellent constitution have hitherto preserved him from many of the infirmities of old age.

He has a good understanding, though not of the first class; and has a clear insight into men and things, within a certain compass.

He is accused by his ministers of being hasty and passionate when any measure is proposed which he does not approve of; though, within the compass of my own observation, I have known few persons of high rank who could bear contradiction better, provided the intention was apparently good, and the manner decent.

When any thing disagreeable passes in the closet, when any of his ministers happen to displease him, it cannot long remain a secret; for his countenance can never dissemble: but to those servants who attend his person, and do not disturb him with frequent solicitations, he is ever gracious and affable.

Even in the early part of his life he was fond of business; at present it is become almost his only amusement.

He has more knowledge of foreign affairs than most of his ministers, and as good general notions of the constitution, strength, and interest of this country: but being past thirty when the Hanover succession took place, and having since experienced the violence of party, the injustice of popular clamour, the corruption of parliaments, and the selfish motives of pretended patriots, it is not surprising that he should have contracted some prejudices in favour of those governments where the royal authority is under less restraint.

Yet prudence has so far prevailed over those prejudices, that they have never influenced his *conduct*; on the contrary, many laws have been

enacted in favour of public liberty; and in the course of a long reign, there has not been a single attempt to extend the prerogative of the crown beyond its proper limits.

He has as much personal bravery as any man, though his political courage seems somewhat problematical: however, it is a fault on the right side; for had he always been as firm and undaunted in the closet as he showed himself at Oudenarde and Dettingen, he might not have proved quite so good in this limited monarchy.

In the drawing-room he is gracious and polite to the ladies, and remarkably cheerful and familiar with those who are handsome, or with the few of his old acquaintance who were beauties in his younger days.

His conversation is very proper for a tête-à-tête: he then talks freely on most subjects, and very much to the purpose; but he cannot discourse with the same ease, nor has he the faculty of laying aside the king in a larger company, not even in those parties of pleasure which are composed of his most intimate acquaintance.

His servants are never disturbed with any unnecessary waiting; for he is regular in all his motions to the greatest exactness, except on particular occasions; when he outruns his own orders, and expects those who are to attend him before the time of his appointment. This may easily be accounted for: he has a restless mind, which requires constant exercise; his affairs are not sufficient to fill up the day; his amusements are without variety, and have lost their relish; he becomes fretful and uneasy, merely for want

of employment, and presses forward to meet the succeeding hour before it arrives.

Too great attention to money seems to be his capital failing : however, he is always just, and sometimes charitable, though seldom generous ; but when we consider how rarely the liberality of princes is directed to the proper object, being usually bestowed on a rapacious mistress or an unworthy favourite, want of generosity, though it still continues a blot, ceases at least to be a vice of the first magnitude.

Upon the whole, he has some qualities of a great prince, many of a good one, none which are essentially bad ; and I am thoroughly convinced, that hereafter, when time shall have worn away those specks and blemishes which sully the brightest characters, and from which no man is totally exempt, he will be numbered among those patriot kings, under whose government the people have enjoyed the greatest happiness.

EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

* * * *

The king had fewer sensations of revenge, or, at least, knew how to hoard them better than any man who ever sat upon the throne. The insults he experienced from his own, and those obliged servants, never provoked him enough to make him venture the repose of his people, or his own. If any object of his hate fell in his way, he did not pique himself upon heroic forgiveness, but would indulge it at the expense of his integrity, though not of his safety. He was reckoned *strictly honest*; but the burning his father's will

must be an indelible blot upon his memory ; as a much later instance of his refusing to pardon a young man who had been condemned at Oxford for a most trifling forgery, contrary to all example when recommended to mercy by the judge—merely because Willes, who was attached to the Prince of Wales, had tried him, and assured him his pardon—will stamp his name with cruelty ; though in general his disposition was merciful, if the offence was not murder. His avarice was much less equivocal than his courage : he had distinguished the latter early ; it grew more doubtful afterwards ; the former he distinguished very near as soon, and never deviated from it. His understanding was not near so defective as it was imagined ; but though his character changed extremely in the world, it was without foundation ; for whether he deserved to be so much ridiculed as he had been in the former part of his reign, or so respected as in the latter, he was consistent in himself, and uniformly meritorious or absurd. His other passions were Germany, the army, and women. Both the latter had a mixture of parade in them : he treated my Lady Suffolk, and afterwards Lady Yarmouth, as his mistresses, while he admired only the queen ; and never described what he thought was a handsome woman, but he drew her picture. Lady Suffolk was sensible, artful, and agreeable, but had neither sense nor art enough to make him think her so agreeable as his wife. When she had left him, tired of acting the mistress, while she had in reality all the slights of a wife, and no interest with him, the opposition

affected to cry up her virtue; and the obligations the king had to her for consenting to seem his mistress, while in reality she had confined him to mere friendship—a ridiculous pretence, as he was the last man in the world to have taste for talking sentiments, and that with a woman who was deaf. Lady Yarmouth was inoffensive, and attentive only to pleasing him, and to selling peerages whenever she had an opportunity. The queen had been admired and happy for governing him by address; and it was not then known how easily he was to be governed by fear. Indeed there were few arts by which he was not governed at some time or other of his life; for not to mention the Duke of Argyle, who grew a favourite by imposing himself upon him for brave; nor Lord Wilmington, who imposed himself upon him for the Lord knows what: the queen governed him by dissimulation, by affected tenderness and deference; Sir Robert Walpole by abilities and influence in the House of Commons; Lord Granville by flattering him in his German politics; the duke of Newcastle by teasing and betraying him; Mr. Pelham by bullying him,—the only man by whom Mr. Pelham was not bullied himself. Who, indeed, had not sometimes weight with the king, except his children and his mistresses? With them he maintained all the reserve and majesty of his rank. He had the haughtiness of Henry the Eighth, without his spirit; the avarice of Henry the Seventh, without his exactions; the indignities of Charles the First, without his bigotry for his prerogative; the vexations of King William, with as little skill in the

management of parties ; and the gross gallantry of his father, without his good nature or his honesty :—he might, perhaps, have been honest, if he had never hated his father, or had ever loved his son.

HORACE WALPOLE.

GEORGE III *.

His parts, though not excellent, will be found tolerable, if ever they are properly exercised.

He is strictly honest, but wants that frank and open behaviour which makes honesty appear amiable.

When he had a very scanty allowance, it was one of his favourite maxims, that men should be just before they are generous : his income is now very considerably augmented, but his generosity has not increased in proportion.

His religion is free from all hypocrisy, but is not of the most charitable sort ; he has rather too much attention to the sins of his neighbour.

He has spirit, but not of the active kind ; and does not want resolution, but it is mixed with too much obstinacy.

He has great command of his passions, and will seldom do wrong, except when he mistakes wrong for right ; but as often as this shall happen, it will be difficult to undeceive him, because he is uncommonly indolent, and has strong prejudices.

His want of application and aversion to business would be far less dangerous were he eager in

* This was written when his late majesty was twenty-one. Lord Waldegrave had then been three years his governor.

the pursuit of pleasure; for the transition from pleasure to business is both shorter and easier than from a state of total inaction.

He has a kind of unhappiness in his temper, which, if it be not conquered before it has taken too deep a root, will be a source of frequent anxiety. Whenever he is displeased, his anger does not break out with heat and violence; but he becomes sullen and silent, and retires to his closet, not to compose his mind by study or contemplation, but merely to indulge the melancholy enjoyment of his own ill humour. Even when the fit is ended, unfavourable symptoms very frequently return, which indicate that on certain occasions his royal highness has too correct a memory.

Though I have mentioned his good and bad qualities, without flattery, and without aggravation, allowances should still be made, on account of his youth and his bad education: for though the bishop of Peterborough, now bishop of Salisbury, the preceptor; Mr. Stone, the sub-governor; and Mr. Scott, the sub-preceptor, were men of sense, men of learning, and worthy good men, they had but little weight and influence. The mother and the nursery always prevailed.

EARL OF WALDEGRAVE.

* * * *

The public conduct of this prince, and the tendencies of the political principles by which it was guided, might afford much scope for discussion, and will be differently estimated by opposite parties; but respecting his private and

domestic character, little variance of opinion has at any time existed among his contemporaries. Probity, and a strict sense of religious obligation, formed the basis of his moral character;—moderation and simplicity, of his habits and manners,—and benevolence, of his disposition. A faithful and affectionate husband, a fond and assiduous parent, and a kind, considerate, and affable master, he secured the respect and attachment of all who beheld him nearly, and was approved by the moral feelings of the whole nation. His intellectual faculties, originally of no high order, were permanently clouded by the constitutional malady which first exhibited itself at an early period of his life. An inflexible persistence in the line of conduct which he had once judged it right to adopt,—an immoveable adherence to the maxims of government, instilled into him by his earliest instructors, formed the leading characteristic of his mental constitution, and that which influenced in the most important manner the destinies of his kingdoms.

In literary taste George III. was supposed to be somewhat deficient, though he collected one of the noblest libraries extant; but the fine arts, especially music and painting, he loved, patronised, and in a considerable degree understood. Agriculture also and some of the mechanic arts were among his pursuits; and hunting, till a late period of life, formed his principal amusement.

His firm attachment to the church of which he was the head was totally exempt from bigot-

ry; he uniformly insisted that no species of religious persecution should take place under his sway: all the relaxations of the penal laws, affecting the catholics and the protestant dissenters, bear date from his reign, and were sanctioned by his beneficent and equitable mind; and a genuine scruple of conscience respecting his coronation oath seems alone to have opposed his conceding to the former sect the full rights of citizens.

To the system of general education, promulgated by Joseph Lancaster, his majesty early extended his firm and liberal support, nobly disdainful of the scruples and alarms which it excited in other quarters. On this subject he once uttered the memorable wish, "That the day might come in which every poor child in his dominions would be able to read the Bible."

Posterity will number George III. with the best men, though not the ablest monarchs, who have borne the British sceptre.

DR. AIKIN.

JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND.

AFTER two weak and inactive reigns, and two regencies of no superior character, a monarch is to succeed, whose government is to be distinguished for its novelty and vigour; and the house of Stuart is at last to know a sovereign. James had now attained his thirtieth year; and his prime of life was yet further recommended by every advantage, which natural talents and a

complete education could bestow. In person he was rather under the middle size, but endued with such firmness and agility as to excel in every manly exercise. In wrestling, in the management of the bow or the spear, in throwing the quoit, in running, in horsemanship, he yielded to none. But his mental abilities were yet more conspicuous. A man of science and learning, an excellent poet, a master of music, the fame of his accomplishments reflected glory even on the throne. Illustrious in every personal virtue, free from any personal vice, his very amusements adorned his character; his hours of leisure being frequently dedicated to elegant writing, and miniature painting, to mechanical arts, and to the cultivation of the garden and the orchard.

The features of his government it is more difficult to discriminate. If we believe some writers, not less than three thousand men were put to death in the two first years of his reign; and after the inroad of Donald Balloch, three hundred highland banditti met with the same fate. Happily these matters are quite unknown to contemporary and authentic monuments of our history: the justice of James fell only on a few nobles and some chiefs of clans; but the numerous dependents of those victims of equitable severity embraced every occasion to excite discontents, and propagate falsehoods against the government, falsehoods which have even passed into the page of history, for one of the misfortunes of the house of Stuart has consisted in the prejudices of several Scottish historians. If any blame must fall, let it fall where it ought, upon the misrule of the

house of Albany. To a people who had lived half a century under a loose and delegated government, and who had been accustomed to regard licence as liberty, it is no wonder that the punishment of crimes seemed quite a new and strange cruelty: that a salutary strength of government appeared despotism; that a necessary and legal taxation assumed the shape of tyrannic extortion. The commons, led by the nobles, absurdly regarded the cause of the latter as their own, and saw not that the king in crushing the aristocracy was doing the most essential service to his people. The plans of James were sagacious and profound, but sometimes incur the charge of temerity; and while they partake of the greatness of genius, they are limited by the want of a sufficient power in the Scottish monarchy for their complete execution. In a word, James is fully entitled to the uncommon character of a great sovereign in the arts of government and of peace.

PINKERTON.

JAMES II. OF SCOTLAND.

His actions proclaim him a prince of decisive, and sometimes even violent spirit. In war he was a valiant and popular leader; and surpassed his father in a marked attention to military discipline. Negligent of pomp, the equal of every soldier, he shared the mean repast of the march, confident that poison is seldom administered in vessels of wood, and reposing absolute faith on *the love of his people.* The power of his abili-

ties, the excellence of his intentions in peace, are best displayed by the laws of his reign, always the most instructive and valuable portion of history. His wisdom appears conspicuous, in his reverence for the counsels of the wise, in guiding his most important actions by the experience of Crichton, and the benign and patriotic prudence of Kennedy. The perdition of the aristocratic and tyrannic house of Douglas was to be a spirited exertion of justice to himself and to his people. But that any fixed plan yet existed, for the destruction of the aristocracy, seems a refined theory, incongruous with the ignorance and spirit and manners of the times; and is best confuted by the plain facts, that the families abased are ever remarkable for important crimes, and that the property and power, which were withdrawn from one house, were ever to be bestowed on another. Even when Louis XI. and Henry VII. were, towards the termination of this century, in countries of greater civilization, and political science, to humble the aristocracy, an unprejudiced reader will be ready to infer that the events proceed rather from chance and circumstances, and the rotation of society, than from design. As to the person of the second James, we only know that it was robust; and that a red tinge, which deformed one of his cheeks, gave him the vulgar appellation of James with the fiery face.

PINKERTON.

JAMES III. OF SCOTLAND, AND HIS BROTHERS.

His person was elegant, his mind weak. In attachment to favourites, in superstition, in love of retirement and literature, he not a little resembled James VI. The other chief features of his character were avarice, caprice, and a delight in architecture, music, and astrology, too violent to leave room for the duties of a monarch. His aversion to the severity of public business rendered the relaxation of his government obnoxious to the united evils of anarchy and tyranny; for, besides a fixed inclination to despotism, his impatience of slow and moderate measures prompted him to sudden acts of outrage; and his favourites oppressed the people, while the indolence of the king abandoned the reins of justice; and his lenity to the bad was cruelty to the good. His sceptre was so little stained with blood, that the fate of his brother may excite doubt or astonishment; yet oppression may proceed by rapid, though silent steps, while the fears and weakness of the sovereign constrain him to shrink from sanguinary violence.

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The character of James was strongly contrasted by those of his brothers, Alexander duke of Albany, and John earl of Mar. While the king, in solitary retirement, indulged his favourite studies of music, architecture, and astrology, he forgot the duties, amid the idle amusements of a mo-

narch. The nobles, in the feudal ages, seldom visiting the court, except upon occasions of business or high festivals, and being ignorant of the arts in which James delighted, he had recourse to the conversation of those who excelled in them ; but forgot the majesty of the sovereign so far as to make companions and favourites of men of mean origin ; imitating Louis XI. who had raised his barber, Oliver le Dain, to great wealth and high dignities ; but a stranger to the standing army, large revenue, and other resources, which enabled that king to crush the lofty and exalt the humble. Cochran, a mason or architect, and Rogers, the English master of music, were respectable names among the favourites of the Scottish king, when followed by those of Leonard, a smith ; Hommil, a tailor ; and Torpichan, a fencing master. The contempt and indignation of the nobility were extreme, when they beheld the public favour of the sovereign to those minions, joined with a pointed neglect of their haughty order.

Albany was a sensible and spirited prince, fond of martial exercises, of fine horses, and of attendants tall and vigorous. In person he was of a middle stature, strong, and well proportioned : his broad shoulders, and blooming yet stern countenance, engaged the praise of a martial age ; and his known courage, if we believe an historian, was the only cause why the nobles did not rebel against James, while he lived in amity with this brother. Mar added superior stature to youth, beauty, and elegance of person : his gentle manners won every heart ; nor did he yield to

his brother in the favourite exercises of the nobility, or in his attention to the breed of his war horses : and in hunting, hawking, and every knightly pastime, his skill and grace were admired.

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As the king, in his flight, was about to pass the rivulet Bannockburn, at the hamlet of Miltown, a woman, who was drawing water, alarmed at his appearance and rapidity, fled, and left her pitcher, which startled the steed, or disordered his career, so that the unexpected rider fell from the saddle, and, oppressed with the weight of his armour, fainted away. A miller and his wife conveyed their unknown sovereign into the mill ; and, to conceal the stranger from any pursuers, they covered him with a cloth. Some time after he resumed his senses ; but perceiving himself much hurt, and very weak, he called for a priest to hear his confession : and to his blunt hosts, who inquired his name and quality, his impatience answered, “ I was your king this morning.” The woman upon this ran into the road, wringing her hands, and calling aloud for a priest to the king. It so chanced that some of the rebels were in the neighbourhood engaged in disorderly pursuit ; and a priest, one of Lord Gray’s followers, as is said, riding up, exclaimed, “ I am a priest, where is the king ?” Being conducted to the place, he knew his sovereign ; and, kneeling, inquired if he thought he might survive, by the help of surgery ; to which James answered, “ *I believe that I might ; but let me have a priest*

to hear my confession, and to bring me the eucharist. The priest, it is averred, heard his confession ; and then stabbed the unfortunate monarch ; whose weakness deserved a milder fate than to fall the victim of a lawless aristocracy, more inimical to public order and prosperity than the feeble despotism of their sovereign.

On this important event some reflections naturally arise. Had James been victorious, the power of the Scottish aristocracy might have been crushed for ever ; and, weak and despotic as he was, it would have been better for the people to have one tyrant than many. But this monarch (if we set the dubious murder of his brother aside), was more weak than vicious ; and even when his feebleness and impolicy are mentioned, it is rather in a relative than a positive view ; for his conduct was chiefly blameable, because ill adapted to the ferocious times and people, which required, in the character of a sovereign, the duties of a magistrate, and the valour and skill of a general. Had James lived a century or two later, his faults would perhaps have escaped observation. But the conduct of the rebellious peers, whose sanguinary lust of power, and eagerness to continue their lawless rapine, opposed the son in open combat against his father, that last infamy of civil war, cannot be severely reprobated. They excite horror, while the monarch attracts a reverential compassion.

PINKERTON.

JAMES IV. OF SCOTLAND.

AT length a reign arises, undisturbed by the disorders of a minority ; and forming a strong contrast to the preceding in spirit and ability. The young monarch was soon to develope a character brightened with many illustrious qualities, and darkened with few shades. His strict administration of justice, by which the realm was maintained in a tranquillity long unknown, his uniform concord with his nobles, his magnificence, his generosity, his patronage of useful arts and sciences, particularly navigation, which had been strangely neglected by the Scottish monarchs, and even his spirit of chivalry, were to render his reign popular and glorious. Nor has it been unjustly asserted, that the period of his domination was that of the greatest wealth and power of Scotland, while a separate kingdom. Yet some of his qualities were rather specious than solid, and rather belonged to chivalrous romance than to real life : in the high regal duties of a politician, and of a general, he was extremely defective ; his natural impetuosity predominating alike in his smaller pursuits and in his most important affairs. The avarice of the preceding reign he contrasted by a profusion which secured the attachment of the peers at the expense of the people. That superstitious devotion which, with a few exceptions, was inherent in his family, from its first elevation to his final descent from the throne, was in the fourth James much increased by his remorse for the death of his father ;

and the mass formed one of his chief daily offices. The resources of his magnificence were not exempt from a charge of extortion : but his gentleness and affability won all hearts, and stifled all murmurs. Just in his decrees, the severity of punishment was softened by his visible reluctance to chastise. To admonition, or even reproach, his ear was open ; and his sense of an innocent conscience such that he listened without the smallest emotion. By a neglected education he was ignorant of letters ; but his mind was acute ; he excelled in music, in horsemanship, and other exercises ; and a firm constitution enabled him to support every fatigue. His person was of the middle size, and elegant ; his countenance majestic.

PINKERTON.

MARGARET, WIDOW OF JAMES IV.

THE royal widow appears to have merited, and possessed, the admiration of all ranks ; and as she continues to occupy much attention, during the various and stormy scenes of this long minority, some account of her character may not be here improper. Margaret was now in her twenty-fourth year ; and her youthful beauty and graces rather proclaimed the bride than the widow. Her circular countenance displaying gaiety, her vivacious eyes, her person rather rustic than delicate, were accompanied with a corresponding vigour of health. Her amorous propensities were strong ; and were to be indulged at the expense of ambition and decency, in precipitate marriages ; and if we

believe her brother (Henry VIII.) and Wolsey, in yet bolder deviations. But eminent in accomplishments, and in prudence, when unbiased by her passions, her talents threw her faults into the shade. Her long letters display an intimate knowledge of affairs and characters, considerable ability, and patient industry. In her political conduct she was not free from the levity ascribed to the sex, and was apt to pass from one extreme to another; and, when in power, alternately to display too much pride or too much humility, a severity too stern, or a gentleness too relaxed. Yet the times were difficult; and that wisdom could not be mean which attracted the praise of the able Dacre, of the prudent and magnanimous Surrey, and of the cautious cardinal; a praise not to be suspected of flattery, because neither pronounced nor known to the object.

PINKERTON.

THE REGENT, DUKE OF ALBANY.

JOHN, Duke of Albany, son of that Alexander who has been seen attempting to wrest the Scottish sceptre from his brother James III., whom he termed a bastard, cannot be supposed to have been warmly attached to the royal race; and there were not wanting some whose malice already saw the crown of Scotland on his head, tinged with infant blood. But such a prospect probably never existed, save in the jealous eye, or wanton calumny, of faction. His character is *so mixed*, that it is very difficult to delineate it

with precision. To Surrey and to Wolsey he appeared a coward and a fool, as they bluntly express their sensations ; and his government in Scotland so inconsistent, so constantly foiled in every scheme, rather seems to warrant the harshness of the appellations. Yet Francis I., a good judge of merit, was afterwards to employ him in important affairs : when that king was before Pavia, in 1525, Albany was to be detached with a part of the army to conquer the kingdom of Naples, an enterprise demanding a general of supreme talents, but the defeat and capture of Francis rendered the plan abortive : in 1533, when that monarch was to meet the pontiff Clement VII. at Marseilles, Albany was to be distinguished by the appointment of conducting by sea Catherine de Medici, the destined wife of Henry, second son of the king, afterwards Henry II. ; an office at least implying confidence and favour, and a brother of Albany was, according to Guicciardini, created a cardinal upon occasion of that service. The friendship of Francis I. is itself a recommendation : yet an intimate acquaintance with the actions and papers of Albany may authorize the following character of his government. It was artful, yet weak ; profuse, yet unfriended ; tyrannic, yet inefficient : while love and attachment were estranged by caprice, fear and awe were not supported by uniform rigour : opinionative obstinacy disconcerted the prudence of friends, and prevented the conciliation of enemies. A stranger to the arts of empire, Albany, whom just policy ought to have transformed into a complete Scottishman, never forgot his French

birth ; and the haughty vanity of that nation, which he displayed without a veil, yet further disgusted the Scots, a people then, from remote situation, and want of intercourse, inimical to foreigners, when they beheld their regent surrounded with French officers and confidants, and heard him submit to term the king of France his master, an epithet he frequently used even in his dispatches ; nor was the very signature of his name in French regarded as a trifle. Even his private faults contributed to disgrace him. Surrey, in a letter to Wolsey, mentions upon the authority of Dâcre, that the regent was so opinionative that no counsel but his own was followed even when among his familiar friends ; and his wilfulness was such that, upon the slightest contradiction, he would throw his bonnet into the fire, in which mode of argument he had consumed near a dozen of those missive syllogisms. Surrey adds, with the prophetic eye of skill, “ if he be such a man, with God’s grace, we shall speed the better ; ” a prediction soon fulfilled. Of Albany’s person little is remarked : even his age is unknown ; though he appears to have exceeded his thirtieth year. His mother was the daughter of the Earl of Bologne, his father’s second wife ; but by the first, a daughter of the Earl of Orkney, a son was alive, Alexander Stuart, educated to the church, commendater of Inchaffray, afterwards abbot of Scone, and bishop of Moray. The regent had himself been married, in 1505, to Anne de la Tour, sole heiress of the countess d’Auvergne, the maternal aunt of the future Catherine de Medici ; his wife’s estate in France was great,

and secured his allegiance to that country, while his connexion with the house of Medici gave him great influence with the Popes Leo X. and Clement VII. sprung of that illustrious family.

PINKERTON.

JAMES V. OF SCOTLAND.

OF this monarch all our early historians present one uniform character; and their general voice proclaims his excellence. His education, as usual with princes who ascend the throne in infancy, had been neglected or erroneous; corrupted by flattery; rendered deficient in its tasks from the preceptor's fear of displeasing. Yet his mind was great, his affections warm, his discernment acute. His vices were few, and never interrupted the happiness of his people. His propensity to vague amour was palliated by his general affability; his sternness to the nobles, by his favour to the common people, which was so eminent that he received from his affectionate subjects the glorious appellation of King of the Poor. To the voice of poverty, to the prayer of distress, the gates of his palace stood ever open: with one hand he raised the indigent, while with the other crushed the proud oppressor. In the knowledge of the laws and customs of his kingdom he was so completely versed that his decisions were exact as they were expeditious; and from thence he often pronounced decrees worthy the sagest seat of justice. Of indubitable courage, of remarkable strength of constitution, exposed his life and health, without hesitation,

At any season when it became necessary to curb the marauding borderers, or highlanders, rendered lawless during the disorders of a long minority. The dangers of the wilderness, the gloom of night, the tempests of winter, could not prevent his patient exertions to protect the helpless, to punish the guilty, to enforce the observance of the laws. A stranger to pride, he despised it in others; and his speech was ever sprinkled with humanity.

The faults of his government, though not minute, are more to be ascribed to the times than to the character of the monarch. His avarice naturally arose from the penury of his education, the dissipation of his finances, and even of the furniture of his palaces, by the unprincipled duke of Albany. But his amassed treasure was employed in the construction of magnificent works of architecture, and of a navy; and in other plans of general utility and glory. His political designs were long studied; yet as he died in his thirtieth year, he could not have acquired the experience of age: and the period of his reign presented combinations too intricate for the most skilful prudence to foresee or define. The progress of the protestant religion was dubious; and dangerous it is for a prince to embrace a new system before it be approved by a great majority of his subjects. Untaught by the glorious concord between his father and the nobles, James entertained a fixed enmity against the aristocracy, which had effected great usurpations during his minority; and his attachment to the eminent ~~clergy~~, who alone could balance their power, ~~was~~ unavoidable.

Of the person, and domestic life, of James V. the features are well known. His frame was of the middle size, and robust, capable of every exertion of agility or fatigue. In elegance of form and countenance he equalled any prince of his time. His oval face, blue eyes of piercing splendour, aquiline nose, yellow hair, and small beard forked in the fashion of that period, impressed the beholders with ideas of sweetness joined with majesty. In dress he was rather elegant than magnificent: yet his palaces were replete with decoration. The repast of a peasant he would share; and, even from a sumptuous board, the royal meal was plain and frugal; nor did he entrust his dignity to the intemperance of wine. Eminently patient he was of labour, of hunger and thirst, of heat and cold. His attachment to the arts was decided: he reared palaces of good architecture; and composed some fugitive pieces of poetry, though it be doubtful if any have reached our times. He replenished his country with artillery and military weapons; and the beauty of his gold coins bespeaks his attention even to the minutest improvements, to be gained by the employment of foreign artists. The Scottish navy, ruined by Albany, began to resume some importance: and the subsequent voyage of James to the Orkneys and Hebrides, accompanied by men of skill, in order to examine the dangers and advantages of the circumjacent seas, will ever deserve the applause of the philosopher, as an enterprise equally rare and meritorious.

PINKERTON.

MARY OF GUISE, WIDOW OF JAMES V.

AMIDST this distress and inquietude, the queen dowager wasted with a lingering distemper, and with grief, expired in the castle of Edinburgh. Religious persecution, and a settled scheme to overturn the liberties of Scotland, while they rendered her administration odious and detestable, have obscured the lustre of her virtues. The treacherous views and policy of France serve to explain, but cannot excuse, the wickedness of the counsels she embraced, and her uniform practices of dissimulation. She allowed herself to be overcome and directed by the obstinacy of the duke of Guise, the unprincipled refinements of the cardinal of Lorraine, and the imperiousness of both. Misfortunes to herself and to Scotland were the cruel consequences of her facility and submission. If she had trusted to her own abilities, her government, it is probable, would have been distinguished by its popularity, and her name have been transmitted to posterity with unsullied honours. Humane and affectionate in her temper, it was naturally her wish to rule with a woman's gentleness. Her judgment was extensive, her mind vigorous. She could comprehend a system, and act upon it with undeviating exactness and unshaken fortitude. The inclination, character, and humours of her people were fully known to her. She could accommodate herself with ease to the Scottish manners ; and the winning grace of her demeanour gave an aid and assistance to her address and penetration. *In distributing justice she was impartial and*

severe ; and in her court she was careful to uphold the royal dignity. In private life she was civil, amiable, and magnificent. The propensity to gallantry, which the example of her husband had promoted, was repressed by her decency and moderation. The excesses of that amorous monarch seem even to have induced her to adopt a more than common reserve and circumspection. Though a widow at an age when the soft passions have their full power, no suspicion was ever entertained of her chastity ; and her maids of honour recommended themselves to her by modesty, piety, and virtue. Her various endowments, and the many excellent qualities which gave her distinction, excite a regret that she should have been disgraced so completely by a frail obsequiousness to French counsels. Yet for this fatal error it is some compensation that her repentance was severe and painful. A few days before her death, she invited to her the Duke of Chatelherault, the Lord James Stuart, and the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Marishal, to bid them a last adieu. She expressed to them her sorrow for the troubles of Scotland, and made it her earnest suit that they would consult their constitutional liberties, by dismissing the French and English from their country ; and that they would preserve a dutiful obedience to the queen their sovereign. She professed an unlimited forgiveness of the injuries which had been done to her ; and entreated their pardon for the offences she had committed against them. In token of her kindness and charity, she then embraced them by turns ; and while the tear started in her

eye, presented to them a cheerful and pleasing aspect. Her soul, melting with tenderness, and divesting itself of its prejudices, weaknesses, and hatreds, seemed to anticipate the purity of a better world. After this interview, the short portion of life which remained to her was dedicated to religion; and that she might allure the congregation to be compassionate to her popish subjects, and her French adherents, she flattered them, by calling John Willocks, one of the most popular of their preachers, to assist and comfort her by his exhortations and prayers. He made long discourses to her about the abominations of the mass; but she appears to have died in the communion of the Romish church; and her body being transported to France, was deposited in the monastery of St. Peter, at Rheims, in Champagne, where her sister Renée was an abbess.

GILBERT STUART.

HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY.

THUS perished, in the twenty-first year of his age, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, a prince of high lineage. A fate so sudden, and so immature, excited a sympathy and sorrow which must have been lost in the consciousness of his imperfections, if he had fallen by the ravages of disease, or the stroke of time. The symmetry of his form recommended him to the most beautiful princess of Christendom; and her generosity and love placed him upon the throne of an ancient kingdom. But he neither knew how to enjoy

his prosperity nor to ensure it. His vices did not permit him to maintain the place he had won in her affection : and he was not entitled by his ability to hold the reins of government. He was seen to the greatest advantage in those games and sports which require activity and address. He rode with skill the warhorse, and was dexterous in hawking and the chase ; but possessing no discernment of men, and no profoundness of policy, he was altogether unequal to direct an agitated monarchy, and to support the glory of his queen. Instead of acting to her protection and advantage, he encouraged her misfortunes and calamities. His imbecility laid him open to her enemies and his own. The excessive facility of his nature made him the dupe of the shallowest artifice ; and while he was weakly credulous, he could not keep in concealment those secrets which most nearly concerned him. Driven into difficult situations by passion and imprudence, he was unable to extricate himself. Under the guidance of no regular principles, he was inconstant and capricious. His natural levity was prompted by his proneness to intemperance ; and he was as much a stranger to decorum as to virtue. While he was not qualified for the cares of royalty, he was even unfit for the trappings of state, and those guarded and fastidious ceremonials which are so necessary to impose on the quickness of human reason, and to cover the infirmity and the nakedness of high station. His preposterous vanity and aspiring pride roused the resentment and the scorn of the nobles. His follies and want of dignity

made him little with the people. To the queen, his infidelity and frequent amours were most insulting and ungrateful. The admiration of the sex, which in cultivated and superior men is an elegant passion and an amiable weakness, was in him a gross attachment and an unsentimental propensity, growing out of the strength of his constitution, and the cravings of an animal appetite. But while our graver historians are assiduous to reproach him with wantonness in the chamber of Venus, it ought to be remembered that the murder of Rizzio, and his attempt to dispossess the queen of her government, are far more indelible stains upon his memory, and imply a profligacy and guilt which could only be exceeded by the enormity of that wickedness which schemed and executed his destruction.

GILBERT STUART.

THE EARL OF MURRAY.

THIS illustrious man was the natural son of James V. by Margaret, the daughter of John Lord Erskine. He had been appointed, at an early age, to the priory of St. Andrews; but he possessed not that pacific mind, which, uninterested in the present world, delights to look to the future, and to busy itself in the indolent formalities of devotion. The activity of his nature compelled him to seek agitation and employment; the perturbed period in which he lived supplied him with scenes of action; and the eminence of his abilities displayed itself. He discovered a passion

for liberty and a zeal for religion ; and he distinguished himself by an openness and sincerity of carriage. These popular qualities pleased the Congregation, and procured to him their confidence. The love of liberty, however, was not in him the effect of patriotism, but of pride : his zeal for religion was a political virtue ; and under the appearance of openness and sincerity he could conceal more securely his purposes. Power was the idol which he worshiped ; and he was ready to acquire it by methods the most criminal. He was bold, firm, and penetrating. His various mind fitted him alike for intrigue and for war. He was destined to flourish in the midst of difficulties. His sagacity enabled him to foresee dangers, his prudence to prepare for them, and his fortitude to surmount them. To his talents, his genius, and his resources, Scotland is indebted for the Reformation. But by this memorable achievement he meant nothing more than to advance himself in the road to greatness. To this point all his actions were directed. It gave the limits to his generosity, which has been extolled as unbounded. His praise, his caresses, and his services, his dissimulation, his perfidiousness, and his enmities, were all sacrifices to ambition. And miscarriage, which has ravished so many laurels from great men, did not tarnish his glory. His success was so conspicuous that he seemed to have the command of fortune.

GILBERT STUART.

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This celebrated character had in his person, as well as in his mind, much of the admirable qualities of James V. his father. Had not the

stain of illegitimacy rested upon his birth, he would have filled the Scottish throne with as much honour as any of the Stuart race. But history, while she acknowledges his high talents, and much that was princely, nay, royal, in his conduct, cannot forget that ambition led him further than honour or loyalty warranted. Brave amongst the bravest, fair in presence and in favour, skilful to manage the most intricate affairs, to attach to himself those who were doubtful, to stun and overwhelm, by the suddenness and intrepidity of his enterprises, those who were resolute in resistance, he attained, and as to personal merit he certainly deserved, the highest place in the kingdom. But he abused, under the influence of strong temptation, the opportunities which his sister Mary's misfortunes and imprudence threw in his way ; he supplanted his sovereign and benefactress in her power, and his history affords us one of those mixed characters, in which principle was so often sacrificed to policy, that we must condemn the statesman while we pity and regret the individual. Many events in his life countenance the charge that he himself aimed at the crown ; and it is too true that he countenanced the fatal expedient of establishing an English, that is, a foreign and a hostile interest, in the councils of Scotland. But his death may be received as an atonement for his offences, and may serve to show how much more safe is the person of a real patriot than that of the mere head of a faction, who is accounted answerable for the offences of his meanest attendants.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

THE EARL OF MORTON.

THE earl of Morton, the last of the Scottish regents, was low in stature, had an engaging countenance, and possessed a form and habit vigorous and active. His natural capacity and endowments were uncommon, and his experience in the world and business was most ample. He had known the greatest changes of fortune ; the evils of poverty and exile, the advantages of great wealth and exorbitant power, the blandishments of flattery, and the wretchedness of the most abject humiliation. He engaged himself in the pursuits of ambition with a pertinacity and ardour that could not be repressed nor fatigued ; and he advanced in them with no fear of shame, and no desire of glory. He was rather insolent than haughty, rather cunning than wise, and more artificial than politic. In a period when every statesman was a soldier, he had talents for war as well as peace ; but his courage was more undaunted in the cabinet than in the field. He was subtle, intriguing, and treacherous. He was stained with rebellion and murder ; and from the incurable malignity of his nature, he was inclined to wanton in mischief, and to take a delight in the enormities of wickedness. He was close, cruel, covetous, and vindictive. He gratified without scruple the madness of his passions, and the whimsies of his caprice. His rapacity was heightened and deformed by insults. He was forward to encounter every species of execration and odium. The contempt of integrity,

which marked and polluted his public conduct, was also characteristic of his private life, and in both he disdained alike the censure and disapprobation of his compatriots. But while the vices of the man were not so pernicious as the crimes of the politician, they were accompanied with cultivation and lustre. His mode of living, though voluptuous, was tasteful. His palaces and gardens were splendid beyond the fashion of his age. His luxury had the charm of refinement; and while an ardent propensity carried him to the sex, his amours were delicate and elegant. He relieved the agitations and the cares of ambition with the smiles of beauty and the solacements of love. But while his passion for pleasure appears with some advantage amidst the deformities of his character, it was little suited to the complexion of his times. The austerity and gloom which the preachers had excited in the body of the people, and which stood in the place of religion, were hostile to gallantry in the greatest degree. His sensualities, though the most venal of all his errors, roused up against him the most general and the most indignant resentment. Odious with private corruptions, and execrable with public crimes, he exhausted the patience of an age accustomed to the most enormous profligacy. The jealousy of his enemies and the justice of his nation called him to expiate, upon the scaffold, the murder of his sovereign; and he ascended it without the consolation of one virtue. He had yet reconciled himself to heaven from partialities that are *natural to man*: and he relied with an assured

hope upon entering into a happy immortality in another existence. His bursts of repentance and remorse were humiliating and instructive ; and terminated with propriety the tenour of a life which had never experienced the satisfaction and the transports of patriotism and probity.

GILBERT STUART.

JOHN KNOX.

THE zeal which he had displayed in overturning popery, and in resisting the despotic projects of Mary of Lorraine, have distinguished and immortalized his name ; and, upon the establishment of the Reformation, he continued to act with fortitude according to his principles. His piety was ardent, and his activity indefatigable ; his integrity was superior to corruption ; and his courage could not be shaken by dangers or death. In literature and learning his proficiency was slender and moderate ; and to philosophy he was altogether a stranger. His heart was open, his judgment greater than his penetration, his temper severe, his behaviour rustic. The fears and contempt he entertained of popery were extravagant ; and while he propagated the reformed doctrines he fancied he was advancing the purposes of Heaven. From his conviction that the ends he had in view were the noblest that can actuate a human creature, he was induced to imagine that he had a title to prosecute them by all the methods within his power. His motives of conduct were disinterested and upright ; but

the strain of his actions and life deserves not commendation. He was ever earnest to promote the glory of God ; but he perceived not that this sublime maxim, in its unlimited exercise, consists not with the weakness and imperfections of man. It was pleaded by the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, and he scrupled not to consider it as a sufficient vindication of them. It was appealed to by Charles IX. as his apology for the massacre of Paris ; and it was urged by Ravaillac as his justifying motive for the assassination of Henry IV. The most enormous crimes have been promoted by it, and it stimulated this reformer to cruel devastations and outrages. Charity, moderation, the love of peace, patience and humanity, were not in the number of his virtues. Papists as well as popery were the objects of his detestation ; and though he had risen to eminence by exclaiming against the persecutions of priests, he was himself a persecutor. His suspicions that the queen was determined to reestablish the popish religion were rooted and uniform ; and upon the most frivolous pretences he was strenuous to break that chain of cordiality which ought to bind together the prince and the people. He inveighed against her government, and insulted her person with virulence and indecency. It flattered his pride to violate the duties of a subject, and to scatter sedition. He affected to direct the politicians of his age ; and the ascendant he maintained over the people drew to him their respect and obeisance. He delivered his sentiments to them with the most unbounded freedom ; and he sought not to restrain or to

disguise his impetuosity, or his peevishness. His advices were pressed with heat; his admonitions were pronounced with anger; and whether his theme was a topic of policy or of faith, his knowledge appeared to be equally infallible. He wished to be considered as an organ of the divine will. Contradiction inflamed him with hostility; and his resentments took a deep and a lasting foundation. He considered the temporal interests of society as inferior to the ecclesiastical; and, unacquainted alike with the objects of government and the nature of men, he regarded the struggles of ambition as impious and profane; and knew not that the individual is carried to happiness and virtue on the tide of his passions, and that admiration and eminence are chiefly to be purchased by the vigour, the fortitude, and capacity which are exerted and displayed in public occupations. He inculcated retired and ascetic virtues. He preached the unlimited contempt of this world; he was a mortal enemy to gaiety and mirth; and it was his opinion that human life ought to be consumed in the solemnities of devotion, in sufferance, and sorrow. The pride of success, the spirit of adulation, the awe with which he struck the gaping and ignorant multitude, inspired him with a superlative conception of his own merits. He mistook for a prophetic impulse the illusions of a heated fancy; and, with an intemperate and giddy vanity, he ventured at times to penetrate into the future, and to reveal the mysteries of Providence. Not contented with being a saint, he aspired to be a prophet. In discharging the

functions of his ministry, his ardour was proportioned to his sincerity. Assiduous and fervent toils, watchful and anxious cares, wasted his strength and hastened his dissolution. He saw it approach without terror; spoke with exultation of the services which he had rendered to the gospel and the church; and was constantly in prayer with the brethren. His confidence of a happy immortality was secure and firm, and disdained the slightest mixture of suspicion or doubt. He surrendered his spirit with cheerfulness, and without a struggle. It belongs to history to describe with candour his virtues as well as his imperfections: and it may be observed, in alleviation of the latter, that the times in which he lived were rude and fierce; and that his passion for converts, and his proneness to persecution, while they rose more immediately out of the intenseness of his belief, and the natural violence of his temperament, were keenly and warmly fostered by his professional habits.

GILBERT STUART.

CARDINAL WOLSEY.

THE character of Wolsey has been portrayed by the pencil of Erasmus, who had tasted of his bounty, and by that of Polydore, whom his justice or policy had thrown into confinement. Neglecting the venal praise of the one, and the venomous slander of the other, we may pronounce him a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth and power

and glory ; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member ; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the passions and caprice of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. As legate, he is said to have exercised without delicacy his new superiority over the archbishop of Canterbury, and to have drawn to his court the cognizance of causes which belonged to that primate : but the question of right between them admitted of much dispute, and it is acknowledged, on the other hand, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. His office of chancellor afforded him the opportunity of displaying the versatility and superiority of his talents. He was not, indeed, acquainted with the subtleties and minutia of legal proceedings, and on that account was careful to avail himself of the knowledge and experience of others : but he always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment; and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded. To appease domestic quarrels, and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties : that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests : in the ordinary administration of

justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country; and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the chancery with petitioners: he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business: and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the master of the rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care: but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of seven lectureships, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment, he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scene of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his dispatches, of which several are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences; to consider each measure in its several bearings; and to furnish his agents with instructions before-

hand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria : and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis to support the cause of Charles, and when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council, the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, the king held the distinguished situation of arbiter of Europe.

LINGARD.

THE EARL OF ESSEX.

THUS, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments. In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation ; qualities which captivated the old queen, accustomed as she now was to the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her.

She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite : but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher : and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious : and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold ; that the queen might be driven, but could not be led ; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, though it could not be softened by submission.

Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character, his affability and profusion, his spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. His last offence could not, indeed, be disguised ; but it was attributed not so much to his own passions, as the secret agents of his enemies, working upon his open and unsuspecting disposition. To silence these rumours, an account of his treason was published by authority, charging him, on his own confession, and the confessions of his associates, with a design to place himself on the throne. But the charge obtained no credit : and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her

favourite. On her appearance in public she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations: her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence. LINGARD.

THE EARL OF STRAFFORD.

THUS fell the greatest subject in power, and little inferior to any in fortune, that was at that time in any of the three kingdoms; who could well remember the time, when he led those people, who then pursued him to his grave. He was a man of great parts, and extraordinary endowments of nature; not unadorned with some addition of art and learning, though that again was more improved and illustrated by the other; for he had a readiness of conception, and sharpness of expression, which made his learning thought more than in truth it was. His first inclinations and addresses to the court were only to establish his greatness in the country; where he apprehended some acts of power from the Lord Savile, who had been his rival always there, and of late had strengthened himself by being made a privy counsellor and officer at court: but his first attempts were so prosperous, that he contented not himself with being secure from that lord's power in the country, but rested not till he had bereaved his adversary of all power and place in court; and so sent him down a most abject, disconsolate old man to his country, where he was to have the superintendency over him too, by getting himself at the same time made lord president of

the north. These successes, applied to a nature too elate and haughty of itself, and a quicker progress into the greatest employments and trust, made him more transported with disdain of other men, and more contemning the forms of business, than happily he would have been, if he had met with some interruption in the beginning, and had passed in a more leisurely gradation to the office of a statesman.

He was, no doubt, of great observation, and a piercing judgment, both in things and persons; but his too good skill in persons made him judge the worse of things: for it was his misfortune to be in a time wherein very few wise men were employed with him; and scarce any (but the Lord Coventry, whose trust was more confined), whose faculties and abilities were equal to his: so that upon the matter he relied wholly upon himself; and discerning many defects in most men, he too much neglected what he said or did. Of all his passions his pride was most predominant; which a moderate exercise of ill fortune might have corrected and reformed; and which was by the hand of Heaven strangely punished, by bringing his destruction upon him by two things that he most despised—the people and Sir Harry Vane. In a word, the epitaph which Plutarch records that Sylla wrote for himself, may not be unfitly applied to him: “That no man did ever exceed him, either in doing good to his friends, or in doing mischief to his enemies;” for his acts of both kinds were most notorious.

CLARENDON.

PRESIDENT BRADSHAW.

JOHN BRADSHAW (a name which Liberty herself, wherever she is respected, has commended for celebration to everlasting memory) was sprung, as is well known, from a noble family; and hence, spent the early part of his life in the diligent study of the laws of his country. Becoming afterwards a skilful and eloquent pleader, a zealous defender of liberty and of the people, he was admitted to the higher offices in the state, and several times discharged the function of an incorrupt judge. At length, on a request from the parliament that he would preside on the trial of the king, he refused not the dangerous office; for to skill in the law, he added a liberal mind, a lofty spirit, with manners unimpeached, and obnoxious to no man. This office, therefore, which was great and fearful, almost surpassing all example, marked out as he was by the daggers and threats of so many ruffians, he executed and filled with such steadiness, such gravity, with such dignity and presence of mind, that he seemed destined and created by the Deity himself for this particular act—an act which God in his stupendous providence had preordained should be exhibited among this people; and he so far surpassed the glory of all tyrannicides, as it is more humane, more just, more full of majesty, to try a tyrant, than to put him to death without a trial. He was otherwise neither gloomy nor severe, but mild and gentle. Yet, at all times equal to himself—the consul, as it were, not of a single

year,—he supported the high character which he took upon him with a becoming gravity; so that you would think him sitting in judgment upon the king, not on the tribunal only, but every moment of his life. He is above all men indefatigable in counsel and in exertions for the public—he alone is equal to a host. At home he is, according to his means, hospitable and splendid; the most faithful of friends, and, in every change of fortune, the most to be relied upon. No one sooner or more willingly discovers merit, wherever it is to be seen, or acts towards it with greater favour. At one time he aids the pious, at another the learned, or men known for any species of skill; now he relieves, from his private fortune, brave men of the military profession who have been reduced to want; and if they are not in want, he yet receives them with a willing courtesy, a friendly welcome. It is his constant practice to proclaim the praises of others, and to conceal his own: and among his political enemies, if any has happened to return to his right senses, which has been the case with many, no man has been more ready to forgive. But if the cause of the oppressed is to be openly defended; if the favour and the power of the mighty is to be resisted; if the public ingratitude against any meritorious character is to be reproved; then indeed, no one could find in this man any want of eloquence or of firmness; no one could even desire an advocate or a friend more intrepid, more eloquent: for he has found one, whom no threats can turn aside from rectitude, whom neither intimidation nor bribes can

bend from his duty and virtuous purpose, can move from an unshaken steadiness of mind and of countenance. By these virtues he has made himself deservedly dear to most men, and not to be despised by his greatest enemies.

MILTON.

MR. HAMBDEN.

MR. HAMBDEN was a man of much greater cunning, and it may be of the most discerning spirit, and of the greatest address and insinuation to bring any thing to pass which he desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest. He was a gentleman of a good extraction and a fair fortune, who, from a life of great pleasure and licence, had on a sudden retired to extraordinary sobriety and strictness, and yet retained his usual cheerfulness and affability; which, together with the opinion of his wisdom and justice, and the courage he had showed in opposing the ship money, raised his reputation to a very great height, not only in Buckinghamshire, where he lived, but generally throughout the kingdom. He was not a man of many words, and rarely began the discourse, or made the first entrance upon any business that was assumed; but a very weighty speaker, and after he had heard a full debate, and observed how the House was like to be inclined, took up the argument, and shortly, and clearly, and craftily, so stated it, that he commonly conducted it to the conclusion he desired; and if he found he could not do

that, he was never without the dexterity to divert the debate to another time, and to prevent the determining any thing in the negative, which might prove inconvenient in the future. He made so great a show of civility, and modesty, and humility, and always of mistrusting his own judgment, and esteeming his with whom he conferred for the present, that he seemed to have no opinions or resolutions, but such as he contracted from the information and instruction he received upon the discourses of others, whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his principles and inclinations, whilst they believed that he wholly depended upon their counsel and advice. No man had ever a greater power over himself, or was less the man that he seemed to be, which shortly after appeared to every body, when he cared less to keep on the mask.

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He was a gentleman of good family in Buckinghamshire, and born to a fair fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the licence in sports and exercises and company, which were used by men of the most jolly conversation. Afterwards he retired to a more reserved and melancholy society, yet preserving his own cheerfulness and vivacity, and, above all, a flowing courtesy to all men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike of the ecclesiastical government of the church, yet most believed it rather a dislike of some churchmen, and of some introduce-

ments of theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public peace. He was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the kingdom, before the business of ship money: but then he grew the argument of all tongues, every man inquiring who and what he was, that durst, at his own charge, support the liberty and property of the kingdom, and rescue his country, as he thought, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, to make him less resolute in his cause, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the judgment that was given against him infinitely more advanced him than the service for which it was given. When this parliament began (being returned knight of the shire for the county where he lived), the eyes of all men were fixed upon him as their *patriæ pater*, and the pilot that must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded his power and interest, at that time, was greater to do good or hurt than any man's in the kingdom, or than any man of his rank hath had in any time; for his reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability and temper in debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of information

and instruction ; yet he had so subtle a way of interrogating, and, under the notion of doubts, insinuating his objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the character of an ingenious and conscientious person. He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew. For the first year of the parliament he seemed rather to moderate and soften the violent and distempered humours than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned men plainly discerned, that that moderation proceeded from prudence and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation ; and that he begot many opinions and motions, the education whereof he committed to other men ; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded ; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of voices, he would withdraw himself before the question that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness ; which produced as great a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others, of his integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the Scots for the invasion of

England, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favour of them, and to advance any alteration of the government in parliament, no man doubts was at least with the privity of this gentleman.

After he was among those members accused by the king of high treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And, without question, when he first drew his sword, he threw away the scabbard; for he passionately opposed the overture made by the king for a treaty from Nottingham, and as eminently all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at Oxford; and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made unto the earl of Essex towards peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that party than the general himself. In the first entrance into the troubles, he undertook the command of a regiment of foot, and performed the duty of a colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a supreme governor over all his passions and affections, and had thereby a great power over other men's. He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon by the most subtle or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished whenever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And

therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was condoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinna might well be applied to him : " He had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.

CLARENDON.

SIR HARRY VANE, THE YOUNGER.

SIR HARRY VANE was a man of great natural parts, and of a very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and very ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, which, though it might naturally proceed both from his father and mother, neither of which were beautiful persons, yet made men think there was something in him of extraordinary ; and his whole life made good that imagination. Within a very short time after he returned from his studies in Magdalen College in Oxford, where, though he was under the care of a very worthy tutor, he lived not with great exactness, he spent some little time in France, and more in Geneva ; and, after his return to England, contracted a full prejudice and bitterness against the church, both against the form of the government, and the liturgy ; which was generally in great reverence, even with many of those who were not friends to the other. In this giddiness, which then much displeased, or seemed to displease, his father, who still appeared highly conformable, and ex-

ceeding sharp against those who were not, he transported himself into New England, a colony within few years planted by a mixture of all religions, which disposed the professors to dislike the government of the church ; who were qualified by the king's charter to choose their own government and governors, under the obligation, "that every man should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy;" which all the first planters did, when they received their charter, before they transported themselves from hence ; nor was there in many years the least scruple amongst them of complying with those obligations ; so far men were, in the infancy of their schism, from refusing to take lawful oaths. He was no sooner landed there but his parts made him quickly taken notice of, and very probably his quality, being the eldest son of a privy counsellor, might give him some advantage ; insomuch that, when the next season came for the election of their magistrates, he was chosen their governor ; in which place he had so ill fortune (his working and unquiet fancy raising and infusing a thousand scruples of conscience, which they had not brought over with them nor heard of before), that he, unsatisfied with them, and they with him, transported himself into England, having sowed such seeds of dissension there, as grew up too prosperously, and miserably divided the poor colony into several factions and divisions and persecutions of each other, which still continue to the great prejudice of that plantation ; insomuch as some of them, upon the ground of

the first expedition, liberty of conscience, withdrawn themselves from their jurisdiction obtained other charters from the king, by w in other forms of government, they have enla their plantation within new limits adjacent to other.

He was no sooner returned into England he seemed to be much reformed from his ext gancies, and, with his father's approbation direction, married a lady of good family; by his father's credit with the earl of N umberland, who was high admiral of Eng was joined presently and jointly with Sir liam Russel in the office of treasurer of the (a place of great trust and profit), whic equally shared with the other, and seem man well satisfied and composed to the go ment. When his father received the disoblige from the Lord Strafford, by his being cr baron of Raby, the house and land of (which title he had promised himself, but it unluckily cast upon the earl, purely out of tempt of Vane), they sucked in all the tho of revenge imaginable; and from thence th betook himself to the friendship of Mr. Pym all the other discontented or seditious per and contributed all that intelligence (which hereafter be mentioned, as he himself will be) that designed the ruin of the earl, and ' grafted him in the entire confidence of those promoted the same; so that nothing was cealed from him, though it is believed th communicated his own thoughts to very few

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He was indeed a man of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding, which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had him-*vultum clausum*, that no man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. Hambden, he was inferior to no other man in all mysterious artifices. There need no more be said of his ability, than that he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation, which was thought to excel in craft and cunning; which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a people, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing that idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their peace, their interest, and their faith, to the erecting a power and authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to a pass.

CLARENDRON.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

THE duke of Argyle was a man of very considerable parts and wit, though by no means so great as appeared from a most happy and imposing mode of speaking in public, where a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally gave his

arguments a weight, which, in themselves, they frequently wanted; and many would go away charmed with his speeches, and yet be extremely at a loss afterwards to discover that strength of reasoning which they imagined at the hearing to have influenced them so highly in his favour. To style him inconsistent is by much too gentle an appellation; for, though from the time he first had a regiment, being under twenty years of age, through the whole course of his great employments, he was never known to sell a place, or even to make those advantages which were universally esteemed allowable and blameless; yet he was in his own person a most shameless prostitute to power, and extremely avaricious: he indeed would sell nothing but himself, which he continually did, with every circumstance of levity, weakness, and even treachery.

GLOVER.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

HE was an honourable man, and a sound Whig. He was not, as the Jacobites and discontented Whigs of his time have represented him, and as ill informed people still represent him, a prodigal and corrupt minister. They charged him in their libels and seditious conversations as having first reduced corruption to a system: such was their cant. But he was far from governing by corruption: he governed by party attachments. The charge of systematic corruption is less applicable to him, perhaps, than to any minister

who ever served the crown for so great a length of time. He gained over very few from the opposition. Without being a genius of the first class, he was an intelligent, prudent, and safe minister. He loved peace; and he helped to communicate the same disposition to nations at least as warlike and restless as that in which he had the chief direction of affairs. Though he served a master who was fond of martial fame, he kept all the establishments very low. The land tax continued at two shillings in the pound for the greater part of his administration. The other impositions were moderate. The profound repose, the equal liberty, the firm protection of just laws during the long period of his power, were the principal causes of that prosperity which afterwards took such rapid strides towards perfection; and which furnished to this nation ability to acquire the military glory which it has since obtained, as well as to bear the burdens, the cause and consequence of that warlike reputation. With many virtues, public and private, he had his faults; but his faults were superficial. A careless, coarse, and over familiar style of discourse, without sufficient regard to persons or occasions, and an almost total want of political decorum, were the errors by which he was most hurt in the public opinion; and those through which his enemies obtained the greatest advantage over him. But justice must be done. The prudence, steadiness, and vigilance of that man, joined to the greatest possible lenity in his character and his politics, preserved the crown to

this royal family; and with it, their laws and liberties to this country.

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When I was young a general fashion told me I was to admire some of the writings against that minister; a little more maturity taught me as much to despise them. I observed one fault in his general proceeding. He never manfully put forward the entire strength of his cause. He temporised, he managed; and adopting very nearly the sentiments of his adversaries, he opposed their inferences. This, for a political commander, is the choice of a weak post. His adversaries had the better of the argument, as he handled it, not as the reason and justness of his cause enabled him to manage it. BURKE.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, THE DUKE OF CUMBERLAND, LORD GRANVILLE, LORD MANSFIELD, AND MR. PITTE, COMPARED.

LORD GRANVILLE was most a genius of the five: he conceived, knew, expressed, whatever he pleased. The state of Europe and the state of literature were equally familiar to him. His eloquence was rapid, and flowed from a source of wit, grandeur, and knowledge. So far from premeditating, he allowed no reflection to chasten it. It was entertaining, it was sublime, it was hyperbole, it was ridiculous, according as the profusion of ideas crowded from him. He embraced systems like a legislator, but was capable of none of the details of a magistrate. Sir Robert

Walpole was much the reverse : he knew mankind, not their writings ; he consulted their interests, not their systems ; he intended their happiness, not their grandeur. Whatever was beyond common sense, he disregarded. Lord Mansfield, without the elevation of Lord Granville, had great powers of eloquence. It was a most accurate understanding, and yet capable of shining in whatever it was applied to. He was as free from vice as Pitt, more unaffected, and formed to convince, even where Pitt had dazzled. The duke of Cumberland had most expressive sense, but with that connexion between his sense and sensibility, that you must mortify his pride before you could call out the radiance of his understanding. Being placed at the head of armies without the shortest apprenticeship, no wonder he miscarried : it is cruel to have no other master than one's own faults. Pitt's was an unfinished greatness : considering how much of it depended on his words, one may almost call his an artificial greatness : but his passion for fame and the grandeur of his ideas compensated for his defects. He aspired to redeem the honour of his country, and to place it in a point of giving laws to nations. His ambition was to be the most illustrious man of the first country in Europe ; and he thought that the eminence of glory could not be sullied by the steps to it being passed irregularly. He wished to aggrandize Britain in general ; but thought not of obliging or benefiting individuals. Lord Granville you loved till you knew him ; Sir Robert Walpole the more you knew him ; you would have loved the Duke, if you had not feared him. Pitt liked

the dignity of despotism; Lord Mansfield the reality: yet the latter would have served the cause of power without sharing it: Pitt would have set the world free, if he might not command it. Lord Granville would have preferred doing right, if he had not thought it more convenient to do wrong. Sir Robert Walpole meaned to serve mankind, though he knew how little they deserved it; and this principle is at once the most meritorious in one's self and to the world.

HORACE WALPOLE.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE.

THE public opinion put him below his level; for though he had no superior parts or eminent talents, he had a most indefatigable industry, a perseverance, a court-craft, a servile compliance with the will of his sovereign for the time being, which qualities, with only a common share of common sense, will carry a man sooner and more safely through the dark labyrinth of a court than the most shining parts would do without those meaner talents. He was good natured to a degree of weakness, even to tears, upon the slightest occasions; exceedingly timorous, both personally and politically, dreading the least innovation, and keeping with a scrupulous timidity in the beaten track of business, as having the safest bottom.

I will mention one instance of this disposition, which, I think, will set it in the strongest light. When I brought the bill into the House of Lords for correcting and amending the calendar, I gave *him* previous notice of my intentions: he was

alarmed at so bold an undertaking, and conjured me not to stir matters that had been long quiet; adding, that he did not love new fangled things. I did not, however, yield to the cogency of these arguments, but brought in the bill, and it passed unanimously. From such weaknesses it necessarily follows that he could have no great ideas nor elevation of mind. His ruling, or rather his only passion was the agitation, the bustle, and the hurry of business, to which he had been accustomed above forty years: but he was as dilatory in despatching it as he was eager to engage in it. He was always in a hurry; never walked, but always ran, insomuch that I have sometimes told him, that by his fleetness one should rather take him for the courier than the author of the letters. He was as jealous of his power as an impotent lover of his mistress; without activity of mind enough to enjoy or exert it, but could not bear a share even in the appearances of it. His levees were his pleasure and his triumph; he loved to have them crowded, and, consequently, they were so: there he made people of business wait two or three hours in the anti-chamber, while he trifled away that time with some insignificant favourites in his closet. When at last he came into his levee-room, he accosted, hugged, embraced, and promised every body with a seeming cordiality, but at the same time with an illiberal and degrading familiarity.

He was exceedingly disinterested, very profuse of his own fortune, and abhorring all those means too often used by persons in his station either to gratify their avarice or to supply their

prodigality; for he retired from business in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, above four hundred thousand pounds poorer than when he first engaged in it. Upon the whole, he was a compound of most human weaknesses, but untainted with any vice or crime.

CHESTERFIELD.

* * * *

The duke of Newcastle was a man of whom no one ever spoke with cordial regard; of parts and conduct which generally drew animadversions bordering on contempt; of notorious insincerity, political cowardice, and servility to the highest and lowest. Yet, insincere without gall, ambitious without pride, luxurious, jovial, hospitable to all men; of an exorbitant estate, affable, forgetful of offences, and profuse of his favours indiscriminately to all his adherents; he had established a faction by far the most powerful in this country. Hence he derived that influence which encouraged his unworthy pretensions to ministerial power. Nor was he less indebted to a long experience of a court, a long practice in all its craft, whence he had acquired a certain art of imposition, that in every negotiation with the most distinguished popular leaders, however superior to himself in understanding, from the instant they began to depart from ingenuous and public principles, he never missed his advantage, nor failed of making them his property at last, and himself their master.

GLOVER.

LORD MELCOMBE.

IN the summer of this year, being now an ex-secretary of an ex-statesman, I went to Eastbury, the seat of Mr. Dodington, in Dorsetshire, and passed the whole time of his stay in that place. Lord Halifax, with his brother-in-law Colonel Johnston, of the blues, paid a visit there, and the Countess Dowager of Stafford and old Lady Hervey were resident with us the whole time. Our splendid host was excelled by no man in doing the honours of his house and table ; to the ladies he had all the courtly and profound devotion of a Spaniard, with the ease and gaiety of a Frenchman towards the men. His mansion was magnificent, massy, and stretching out to a great extent of front, with an enormous portico of Doric columns, ascended by a stately flight of steps ; there were turrets and wings that went I know not whither, though now they are levelled with the ground, and gone to more ignoble uses : Vanbrugh, who constructed this superb edifice, seemed to have had the plan of Blenheim in his thoughts, and the interior was as proud and splendid as the exterior was bold and imposing. All this was exactly in unison with the taste of its magnificent owner, who had gilt and furnished the apartments with a profusion of finery, that kept no terms with simplicity, and not always with elegance or harmony of style. Whatever Mr. Dodington's revenue then was, he had the happy art of managing it with that regularity

and economy, that I believe he made more play at less cost than any man in the kingdom but himself could have done. His town house in Pall Mall, his villa at Hammersmith, a mansion above described, were such establishments as few nobles in the nation were possessed of. In either of these he was not to be approached through a suite of apartments, and seated but under painted ceilings and gilt tablatures. In his villa you were conducted through two rows of antique marble stables, ranged in a gallery floored with the rarest lapis lazuli ; his saloon was hung with the Gobelin tapestry, and he slept in a bed encased with peacock's feathers in the style of Mrs. Tague. When he passed from Pall Mall to the Trappe it was always in a coach, which I suspect had been his ambassadorial equipage in Madrid, drawn by six fat unwieldy black horses docked, and of colossal dignity : nor was he less characteristic in apparel than in equipage ; he had a wardrobe loaded with short flaring suits, each in itself a load to a wearer, and of these I have no doubt but were coeval with his embassy above mentioned and every birthday added to the stock. In this he so contrived as never to put his dress out of countenance by any variations in fashions of the new ; in the meantime his corpulence gave full display to a vast panse and profusion of brocade and embroidery, and this, when set off with an enormous perriwig and deep laced ruffles, gave the picture

of an ancient courtier in his gala habit, or Quin in his stage dress: nevertheless, it must be confessed this style, though out of date, was not out of character, but harmonized so well with the person of the wearer, that I remember when he made his first speech in the House of Peers as Lord Melcombe, all the flashes of his wit, all the studied phrases and well turned periods of his rhetoric, lost their effect, simply because the orator had laid aside his magisterial tie, and put on a modern bag-wig, which was as much out of costume upon the broad expanse of his shoulders as a cue would have been upon the robes of the Lord Chief Justice.

Having thus dilated more than perhaps I should have done upon this distinguished person's passion for magnificence and display, when I proceed to inquire into those principles of good taste, which should naturally have been the accompaniments and directors of that magnificence, I fear I must be compelled by truth to admit, that in these he was deficient. Of pictures he seemed to take his estimate only by their cost! in fact, he was not possessed of any: but I recollect his saying to me one day in his great saloon at Eastbury, that if he had half a score pictures of a thousand pounds apiece, he would gladly decorate his walls with them; in place of which, I am sorry to say, he had stuck up immense patches of gilt leather, shaped into bugle horns, upon hangings of rich crimson velvet; and round his state bed he displayed a carpeting of gold and silver embroidery, which too glaringly betrayed its derivation from coat,

waistcoat, and breeches, by the testimony of
ets, buttonholes, and loops, with other ec
incontrovertible witnesses, subpoenaed fro
tailor's shopboard. When he paid his co
St. James's to the present queen upon her
tials, he approached to kiss her hand deck
an embroidered suit of silk, with lilac wai
and breeches, the latter of which, in the e
kneeling down, forgot their duty, and l
loose from their moorings in a very indec
and unseemly manner.

In the higher provinces of taste we may
template his character with more pleasure
he had an ornamented fancy and a brilliant
He was an elegant Latin classic, and well v
in history, ancient and modern. His favo
prose writer was Tacitus, and I scarce ever
prised him in his hours of reading without
ing that author upon his table before him.
understood him well, and descended upon
very agreeably, and with much critical accu
Mr. Dodington was in nothing more remark
than in ready perspicuity and clear discern
of a subject thrown before him on a sud
take his first thoughts then, and he would c
you; give him time to ponder and refine,
would perceive the spirit of his sentiments
the vigour of his genius evaporate by the
cess; for though his first view of the que
would be a wide one, and clear withal, whe
came to exercise the subtlety of his disquisit
powers upon it, he would so ingeniously di
and break it into fractions, that as an ot
when looked upon too intently for a leng

time, grows misty and confused, so would the question under his discussion, when the humour took him to be hypercritical. Hence it was that his impromptues in parliament were generally more admired than his studied speeches, and his first suggestions in the councils of his party better attended to than his prepared opinions.

Being a man of humble birth, he seemed to have an innate respect for titles, and none bowed with more devotion to the robes and fasces of high rank and office. He was decidedly aristocratic: he paid his court to Walpole in panegyric poems, apologizing for his presumption by reminding him that it was better to be pelted with roses than with rotten eggs: to Chesterfield, to Winnington, Pulteney, Fox, and the luminaries of his early time, he offered up the oblations of his genius, and incensed them with all the odours of his wit: in his latter days, and within the period of my acquaintance with him, the Earl of Bute, in the plenitude of his power, was the god of his idolatry. That noble lord was himself too much a man of letters and a patron of the sciences to overlook a witty head, that bowed so low, he accordingly put a coronet upon it, which, like the *barren sceptre* in the hand of Macbeth, merely served as a ticket for the coronation procession, and having nothing else to leave to posterity in memory of its owner, left its mark upon the lid of his coffin.

During my stay at Eastbury we were visited by the late Mr. Henry Fox and Mr. Alderman Beckford: the solid good sense of the former, and the dashing loquacity of the latter, formed a

striking contrast between the characters of gentlemen. To Mr. Fox our host paid all courtly homage which he so well knew the time and where to apply; to Beckford he did not observe the same attentions, but in the heat flow of his raillery and wit combated this int talker with admirable effect. It was an interestingly comic and amusing. Beckford loud, boisterous, selfsufficient, and galled by hits, which could not parry, and probably did not even lay himself more open in the vehemence of argument; Dodington, lolling in his chair, perfect apathy and self command, dozing even snoring at intervals, in his lethargic state broke out every now and then into such fits of wit and irony, as by the contrast of his placid with the other's impetuosity, made his humor irresistible, and set the table in a roar. He was here upon his very strongest ground, for nothing was better calculated to exemplify how truly observation is :—

Ridiculum acri
Fortius ac melius.

At the same time he had his serious hour graver topics, which he would handle with due solemnity of thought and language, and were to me some of the most pleasing he have passed with him; for he could keep clear of his point, if he would, and could be no less argumentative than he was eloquent, when the question was of magnitude enough to interest him. It is with singular satisfaction that I truly say, that I never knew him flippant

sacred subjects. He was, however, generally courted and admired as a gay companion, rather than as a grave one.

CUMBERLAND.

* * * *

Soon after the arrival of Frederick Prince of Wales in England, Dodington became a favourite, and submitted to the prince's childish horse play, being once rolled up in a blanket, and trundled down stairs ; nor was he negligent in paying more solid court, by lending his royal highness money. He was, however, supplanted, I think, by George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton, and again became a courtier and placeman at St. James's ; but once more reverted to the prince at the period where his Diary commences. Pope was not the only poet who diverted the town at Dodington's expense. Sir Charles ridiculed him in a well known dialogue with Gyles Earle, and in a ballad entitled "A Grub upon Bubb." Dr. Young, on the contrary, who was patronized by him, has dedicated to him one of his satires on the Love of Fame, as Lyttelton had inscribed one of his cantos on the Progress of Love. Glover, and that prostitute fellow Ralph, were also countenanced by him, as the Diary shows.

Dodington's own wit was very ready. I will mention two instances. Lord Sundon was commissioner of the treasury with him and Winnington, and was very dull. One Thursday, as they left the board, Lord Sundon laughed heartily at something Dodington said ; and when gone, Winnington said, "Dodington, you are very ungrateful ; you call Sundon stupid and slow,

and yet you see how quick he took what you said." "Oh no," replied Dodington, "he was only laughing now at what I said last treasury day." Mr. Trenchard, a neighbour, telling him that though his pinery was expensive, he contrived, by applying the fire and the dung to other purposes, to make it so advantageous that he believed he got a shilling by every pine apple he ate: "Sir," said Dodington, "I would eat them for half the money."

Dodington was married to a Mrs. Behan, whom he was supposed to keep. Though secretly married, he could not own her, as he then did, till the death of Mrs. Strawbridge, to whom he had given a promise of marriage, under the penalty of ten thousand pounds. He had long made love to the latter, and at last, obtaining an assignation, found her lying on a couch. However, he only fell on his knees, and after kissing her hand for some time, cried out, "Oh that I had you in a wood!"—"In a wood!" exclaimed the disappointed dame; "What would you do then? Would you *rob* me?" It was on this Mrs. Strawbridge that was made the ballad—

My Strawberry—my Strawberry
Shall bear away the bell.

To the burthen and tune of which Lord Bath, many years afterwards, wrote his song on "Strawberry-hill."

Dodington had no children. His estate descended to Lord Temple, whom he hated, as he did Lord Chatham, against whom he wrote a pamphlet to expose the expedition to Rochfort.

Nothing was more glaring in Doddington than his want of taste, and the tawdry ostentation in the dress and furniture of his houses. At Eastbury, in the great bed chamber, hung with the richest red velvet, was pasted, on every pannel of the velvet, his crest (a hunting horn supported by an eagle) cut out of gilt leather. The foot cloth round the bed was a mosaic of pocket flaps and cuffs of all his embroidered clothes. At Hammersmith his crest, in pebbles, was stuck into the centre of the turf before his door. The chimney piece was hung with spars resembling icicles round the fire, and a bed of purple, lined with orange, was crowned by a dome of peacock's feathers. The great gallery, to which was a beautiful door of white marble, supported by two columns of lapis lazuli, was not only filled with busts and statues, but had, I think, an inlaid floor of marble; and all this weight was above stairs.

One day, showing it to Edward, Duke of York, Doddington said, "Sir, some persons tell me this room ought to be on the ground." "Be easy, Mr. Doddington, replied the prince, "it will soon be there."

Doddington was very lethargic: falling asleep one day after dinner, with Sir Richard Temple, Lord Cobham, the general, the latter reproached Doddington with his drowsiness; Doddington denied having been asleep, and to prove he had not, offered to repeat all Lord Cobham had been saying. Cobham challenged him to do so. Doddington repeated a story, and Lord Cobham owned

he had been telling it. "Well," said Dodington, "and yet I did not hear a word of it; but I went to sleep because I knew that about this time of day you would tell that story."

HORACE WALPOLE.

THE HON. GERARD HAMILTON.

HAMILTON, who in the English Parliament got the nickname of Single Speech, spoke well, but not often, in the Irish House of Commons. He had a promptitude of thought, and a rapid flow of well conceived matter, with many other requisites, that only seemed waiting for opportunities to establish his reputation as an orator. He had a striking countenance, a graceful carriage, great selfpossession and personal courage: he was not easily put out of his way by any of those unaccommodating repugnances that men of weaker nerves or more tender consciences might have stumbled at, or been checked by; he could mask the passions that were natural to him, and assume those that did not belong to him: he was indefatigable, meditative, mysterious; his opinions were the result of long labour and much reflection, but he had the art of setting them forth as if they were the starts of ready genius and a quick perception: he had as much seeming steadiness as a partisan could stand in need of, and all the real flexibility that could suit his purpose or advance his interest.

CUMBERLAND.

ELEGANT EXTRACTS

FROM THE MOST EMINENT

PROSE WRITERS.

PART IV.

CHARACTERS.

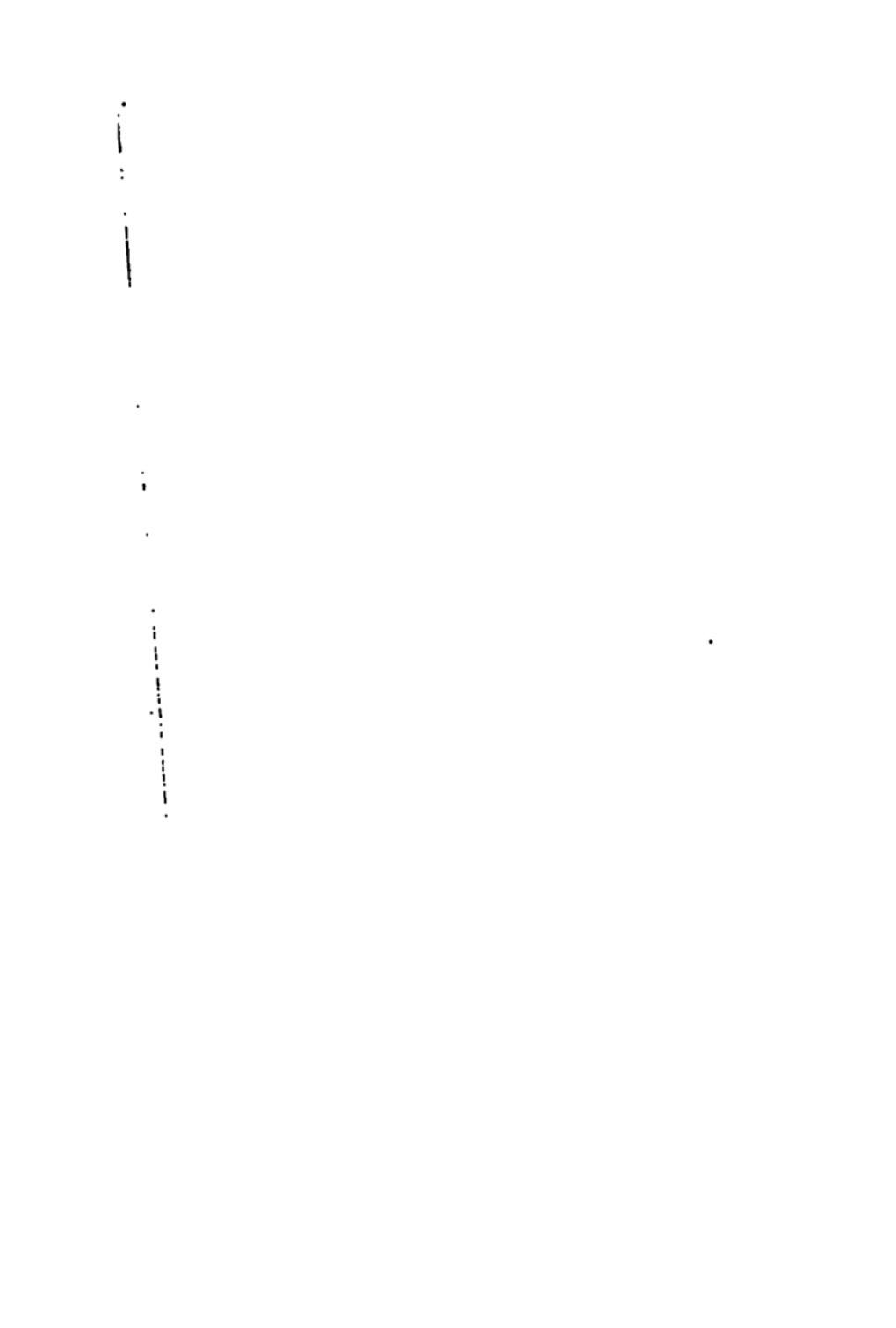


THE CORONATION OF PETRARCH. p. 372.

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ELEGANT EXTRACTS.

PART IV.

Characters.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN.

LORD HOLLAND.

MR. HENRY FOX was a younger brother, of the lowest extraction. His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a considerable fortune somehow or other, and left him a fair younger brother's portion, which he soon spent in the common vices of youth, gambling included: this obliged him to travel for some time. When he returned, though by education a jacobite, he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ablest *élèves*. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality, and was too unwary in ridiculing and exposing them. He had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business; great skill in managing, that is, in corrupting the House of Commons; and a wonderful dex-

terity in attaching individuals to himself. He promoted, encouraged, and practised their vices; he gratified their avarice, or supplied their profusion. He wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised, and most liberally rewarded their attachment and dependence. By these and all other means that can be imagined he made himself many personal friends and political dependants. He was a most disagreeable speaker in parliament; inelegant in his language, hesitating and ungraceful in his elocution, but skilful in discerning the temper of the house, and in knowing when and how to press or to yield. A constant good humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life, and in all domestic relations he was good natured. As he advanced in his life his ambition became subservient to his avarice. His early profusion and dissipation had made him feel the many inconveniences of want; and, as it often happens, carried him to the contrary and worse extreme of corruption and rapine. *Rem, quocumque modo rem,* became his maxim, which he observed (I will not say religiously and scrupulously, but) invariably and shamefully. He had not the least notion of or regard for the public good or the constitution, but despised those cares as the objects of narrow minds, or the pretences of interested ones; and he lived, as Brutus died, calling virtue only a name.

LORD CHESTERFIELD.

LORD CHATHAM.

MR. Pitt owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom singly to his own abilities; in him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter in others too often supply the want of the former. He was the younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year. The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus, unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use the expression) to do the honours of his parts; but their own strength was fully sufficient. His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbade him the idle dissipations of youth; for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either produced or allowed him in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus, by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was, perhaps, the principal cause of his splendour.

His private life was stained by no vices nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which, when supported by great abilities and crowned with great success, forms what the world calls “a great

man." He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing; qualities which too often accompany but always clog the great ones. He had manners and address; but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents. He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life; and had such a versatility of wit that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry, but he seldom indulged and seldom avowed it. He came young into parliament, and upon that great theatre soon equalled the oldest and ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative as well as the declamatory way; but his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction and stern dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him: their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrank under the ascendant which his genius gained over theirs. In that assembly, where the public good is talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so nobly that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather only unsuspected champion. The weight of his popularity and his universally acknowledged abilities obtruded upon King George II. to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made secretary of state: in this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot or the minister to a decisive option,

he managed with such ability, that while he served the king more effectually in his most unwarrantable electoral views than any former minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public, whom he assured and convinced that the protection and defence of Hanover with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America. So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness and even contempt of money smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make the proper use of them; but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power. Upon the whole he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country, notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives, on his voluntary resignation of the seals in the first year of the present king, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it. However, it must be acknowledged that he had those qualities which none but a great man can have, with a mixture of those failings which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

CHESTERFIELD.

THE MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM.

A MAN worthy to be held in remembrance, because he did not live for himself. His abilities, industry, and influence were employed, without interruption, to the last moment of his life, to give stability to the liberties of his country; security to its landed property; increase to its commerce; independence to its public counsels; and concord to its empire. These were his ends. For the attainment of these ends, his policy consisted in sincerity, fidelity, directness, and constancy. In opposition, he respected the principles of government: in administration he provided for the liberties of the people. He employed his moments of power in realizing every thing which he had professed in a popular situation; the distinguishing mark of his public conduct. Reserved in profession, sure in performance, he laid the foundation of a solid confidence.

He far exceeded all other statesmen in the art of drawing together, without the seduction of self-interest, the concurrence and cooperation of various dispositions and abilities of men, whom he assimilated to his character, and associated in his labours. For it was his aim through life to convert party connexion and personal friendship (which others had rendered subservient only to temporary views and the purposes of ambition) into a lasting depository of his principles; that their energy should not depend upon his life, nor fluctuate with the intrigues of a court, or with *capricious fashions* amongst the people. But

that, by securing a succession in support of his maxims, the British constitution might be preserved according to its true genius, on ancient foundations, and institutions of tried utility.

The virtues of his private life, and those which he exhibited in the service of the state, were not in him separate principles. His private virtues, without any change in their character, expanded with the occasion into enlarged public affections. The very same tender, benevolent, feeling, liberal mind, which in the internal relations of life conciliated the genuine love of those who see men as they are, rendered him an inflexible patriot. He was devoted to the cause of freedom, not because he was haughty and intractable, but because he was beneficent and humane.

A sober, unaffected, unassuming piety, the basis of all true morality, gave truth and permanence to his virtues.

He died at a fortunate time, before he could feel, by a decisive proof, that virtue like his must be nourished from its own substance only, and cannot be assured of any external support.

Let his successors, who daily behold this monument, consider that it was not built to entertain the eye, but to instruct the mind. Let them reflect that their conduct will make it their glory or their reproach. Let them feel that similarity of manners, not proximity of blood, gives them an interest in this statue.

Remember; resemble; persevere.

BURKE.

passed him, and which all found irresistible, was his wit: this relieved the weary; this calmed the resentful, and animated the drowsy; this drew smiles even from such as were the objects of it, scattered flowers over a desert; and, like sunbeams sparkling on a lake, gave spirit and vivacity to the dullest and least interesting cause. Not that his accomplishments, as an advocate, consisted principally in volubility of speech, or liveliness of raillyery: he was endued with an intellect sedate, yet penetrating; clear, yet profound; subtle, yet strong. His knowledge too was equal to his imagination, and his memory to his knowledge. He was not less deeply learned in the sublime principles of jurisprudence, and the particular laws of his country, than accurately skilled in the minute but useful practice of all our different courts. In the nice conduct of a complicated cause, no particle of evidence could escape his vigilant attention, no shade of argument could elude his comprehensive reason: perhaps the vivacity of his imagination sometimes prompted him to sport where it would have been wiser to argue; and, perhaps, the exactness of his memory sometimes induced him to answer such remarks as hardly deserved notice, and to enlarge on small circumstances, which added little weight to his argument; but those only who have experienced can in any degree conceive the difficulty of exerting all the mental faculties in one instant, when the least deliberation might lose the tide of action irrecoverably. The people seldom err in appreciating the character of speakers; and those clients who were too late to engage Dunning on

their side never thought themselves secure of success, while those against whom he was engaged were always apprehensive of a defeat.

As a lawyer, he knew that Britain could only be happily governed on the principles of her constitutional or public law; that the regal power was limited, and popular rights ascertained by it; but that aristocracy had no other power than that which too naturally results from property, and which laws ought rather to weaken than to fortify; he was therefore an equal supporter of just prerogative and of national freedom, weighing both in the noble balance of our recorded constitution. An able and aspiring statesman, who professed the same principles, had wisdom to solicit, and the merit to obtain the friendship of this great man; and a connexion, planted originally on the firm ground of familiarity in political sentiments, ripened into personal affection, which nothing but death could have dissolved or impaired. Whether in his ministerial station he might not suffer a few prejudices insensibly to creep on his mind, as the best men have suffered, because they were men, may admit of a doubt; but, if even prejudiced, he was never uncandid; and, though pertinacious in all his opinions, he had great indulgence for such as differed from him.

His sense of honour was lofty and heroic, his integrity stern and inflexible; and though he had a strong inclination to splendour of life, with a taste for the elegancies of society, yet no love of dignity, of wealth, or of pleasure, could have tempted him to deviate, in a single instance, from the straight line of truth and honesty.

He carried his democratical principles even into social life, where he claimed no more of the conversation than his just share; and was candidly attentive when it was his turn to be a hearer. His enmities were strong, yet placable; but his friendships were eternal: and if his affections ever subdued his judgment, it must have been in cases where the fame and interest of a friend were nearly concerned. The veneration with which he constantly treated his father, whom his success and reputation had made the happiest of mortals, could be equalled only by the amiable tenderness which he showed as a parent. He used to speak with wonder and abhorrence of Swift, who was not ashamed to leave a declaration, that he could not be fond of children; and with pleasure of the Caliph, who, on the eve of a decisive battle, which was won by his valour and wisdom, amused himself in his tent with seeing his children ride on his scimitar and play with his turban, and dismissed a general, as unlikely to treat the army with lenity, who durst reprove him for so natural and innocent a recreation.

For some months before his death the nursery had been his chief delight, and gave him more pleasure than the cabinet could have afforded him: but this parental affection, which had been a source of so much felicity, was probably a cause of his fatal illness. He had lost one son, and expected to lose another, when the author of this painful tribute to his memory parted from him, with tears in his eyes, little hoping to see him again in a perishable state. As he perceives, without affectation, that his tears now steal from

him, and begin to moisten the paper on which he writes, he reluctantly leaves a subject which he could not so soon have exhausted ; and when he also should resign his life to the great Giver of it, he desires no other decoration of his humble gravestone than this honourable truth :—

With none to flatter, none to recommend,
Dunning approved and marked him as a friend.

SIR W. JONES.

LORD CHIEF BARON BURGH.

WALTER HUSSEY, who afterwards took the name of Burgh, and was advanced to the station of lord chief baron of the exchequer, came, at this time, into parliament, under the auspices of James, Duke of Leinster. He immediately joined the great opposition then formed against the administration of Lord Townshend. His speeches, when he first entered the House of Commons, were very brilliant, very figurative, and far more remarkable for that elegant poetic taste which had highly distinguished him when a member of the university, than any logical illustration or depth of argument. But as he was blessed with great endowments, every session took away somewhat from the unnecessary splendour and redundancy of his harangues. To make use of a phrase of Cicero, in speaking of his own improvements in eloquence, his orations were gradually deprived of all fever. Clearness of intellect, a subtle, refined, and polished wit; a gay, fertile, uncommonly fine imagination; very classical taste,

superior harmony and elegance of diction, peculiarly characterized this justly celebrated man. Though without beauty, his countenance was manly, engaging, and expressive; his figure agreeable and interesting; his deportment graceful.

To those who never heard him, as the fashion of this world in eloquence, as in all things, soon passes away, it may be no easy matter to convey a just idea of his style of speaking; it differed totally from the models which have been presented to us by some of the great masters of rhetoric in latter days. His eloquence was by no means gaudy, tumid, nor approaching to that species of oratory which the Roman critics denominated Asiatic; but it was always decorated as the occasion required: it was often compressed and pointed, though that could not be said to have been its general feature. It was sustained with great ingenuity, and great rapidity of intellect, luminous and piercing satire; in refinement abundant, in simplicity sterile. The classical allusions of this orator, for he was most truly one, were so apposite, they followed each other in such bright and varied succession, and at times spread such an unexpected and triumphant blaze round his subject, that all persons who were in the least tinged with literature could never be tired of listening to him. The Irish are a people of quick sensibility, and perfectly alive to every display of ingenuity or illustrative wit. Never did the spirit of the nation soar higher than during the splendid days of the volunteer institution; and when Hussey Burgh, *alluding to some coercive English laws, and that*

institution, then in its proudest array, said, in the House of Commons, "that such laws were sown like dragon's teeth, and sprang up in armed men," the applause which followed, and the glow of enthusiasm which he kindled in every mind, far exceeded my powers of description.

Never did the graces more sedulously cherish and uniformly attend any orator more than this amiable and elegant man. They embellished all that he said; but the graces are fugitive or perishable. Of his admired speeches but few if any records are now to be found; and of his harmonious flowing eloquence, it may be said, as Tacitus did of an eminent speaker in his time:—“*Haterii canorum illud, et profluens, cum ipso extinctum est **.”

He accepted the office of prime sergeant during the early part of Lord Buckinghamshire's administration; but the experience of one session convinced him that his sentiments and those of the English and Irish cabinets, on the great questions relative to the independence of Ireland, would never assimilate. He soon grew weary of his situation; when his return to the standard of opposition was marked by all ranks of people, and especially his own profession, as a day of splendid triumph. Numerous were the congratulations which he received on this sacrifice of

* It is to be observed, however, that the debate reporters in his time were in general the most ignorant of human beings. Unless, therefore, his friends were at the trouble of preparing some of his speeches for the press, they must have been sadly disfigured. In a debate on the Mutiny Bill, Burke quoted an opinion of Sergeant Maynard's; the reporters stated, that he very appositely introduced a saying of an eminent Sergeant Major.

official emolument, to the duty which he owed to his country. That country he loved even to enthusiasm. He moved the question of a free trade for Ireland, as the only measure that could then rescue this kingdom from total decay. The resolution was concise, energetic, and successful. He supported Mr. Grattan in all the motions which finally laid prostrate the dominion of the British parliament over Ireland. When he did so, he was not unacquainted with the vindictive disposition of the English cabinet of that day, towards all who dared to maintain such propositions. One night, when he sat down after a most able argumentative speech in favour of the just rights of Ireland, he turned to Mr. Grattan, “I have now,” said he, “nor do I repent it, sealed the door against my own preferment; and I have made the fortune of the man opposite to me,” naming a particular person who sat on the treasury bench.

He loved fame, he enjoyed the blaze of his own reputation; and the most unclouded moments of his life were not those when his exertions at the bar, or in the House of Commons, failed to receive their accustomed and ample tribute of admiration; that, indeed, but rarely happened: he felt it at particular moments during his connexion with the Buckinghamshire administration; nor did the general applause which he received counterbalance his temporary chagrin. A similar temperament is, I think, recorded of Racine; but he had not Racine’s jealousy. On the contrary, the best intellectual displays of his contemporaries seemed always to be the most agreeable to him; and I can well attest, that he hailed the

dawn of any young man's rising reputation with the tribute of kindred genius.

He died at a time of life when his faculties, always prompt and discriminating, approximated as it should seem to their fullest perfection. On the bench, where he sat more than one year, he had sometimes lost sight of that wise precept which Lord Bacon lays down for the conduct of a judge towards an advocate at his bar : " You should not affect the opinion of poignancy and expedition, by an impatient and catching hearing of the counsellors at the bar*." He seemed to be sensible of his deviation from this ; to be convinced that security in our own opinions, like too great security in any thing, " is mortals' chiefest enemy ;" and that in our daily converse with the world we meet with others who are far wiser than ourselves, even on those points where we fondly imagine our own wisdom to be the most authenticated. His honest desire not to feed contention, but bring it to as speedy a termination as could reasonably be wished, deserves great praise.

" He did not," says Mr. Flood, alluding to him in one of his speeches, " live to be ennobled, but he was ennobled by nature." I value the just prerogatives of ancient nobility ; but to the tears and regrets of a nation bending over the urn of private excellence, as Ireland did over his, what has heraldry to add, or, at such moments, what can it bestow ?

HARDY.

* Lord Bacon's speech to Judge Hutton, on being made a Judge of Common Pleas.

THE HON. J. H. HUTCHINSON.

JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON, father to the earl of Donoughmore and Lord Hutchinson, introduced a classical idiom into the House of Commons. No member was ever more extolled and more in fashion than he was on his first appearance there. He opposed government upon almost every question ; but his opposition was of no long continuance. As an orator, his expression was fluent, easy, and lively ; his wit fertile and abundant ; his invective admirable, not so much from any peculiar energy of sentiment or diction, as from being always unclogged with any thing superfluous, or which could at all diminish the justness and brilliancy of its colouring. It ran along with the feelings of the house, and never went beyond them. He saw what the house could bear, and seemed to take the lead in directing their resentment rather than in pointing his own. On such occasions he sunk, as it were, into a temporary oblivion of his own disposition (for he was naturally very irritable), and appeared free from all unseemly impetuosity, indulging the keenest wit, equally within the rules of the house and the limits of decorum. The consequence of this assumed calmness was, that he never was stopped. The house was paid such deference to, that it could not, and received so much entertainment, that it would not interfere. The members for a long time remembered his satire, and the objects of it seldom forgave it.

In his personal contests with Mr. Flood (and

in the more early part of their parliamentary career they were engaged in many), he is supposed to have had the advantage. The respect which he uniformly observed towards the house, and the style of his speaking, might have contributed somewhat to this. His oratory was of that gayer kind which captivates an Irish auditory, and incorporated itself more easily with the subjects which, at that period, engaged the attention of the House of Commons. It was, therefore, without derogating at all from his talents, the contention of Demosthenes and Hyperides, on points where we may justly conclude, from the characters of those two eminent Athenians, Hyperides must have been superior. To Flood's anger, Hutchinson opposed the powers of ridicule; to his strength he opposed refinement; to the weight of his oratory, an easy, flexible ingenuity, nice discrimination, and graceful appeal to the passions. As the debate ran high, Flood's eloquence alternately displayed austere reasoning and tempestuous reproof; its colours were chaste, but gloomy; Hutchinson's, on the contrary, were of "those which April wears," bright, various, and transitory; but it was a vernal evening after a storm; and he was esteemed the most successful because he was the most pleasing.

In every thing that he said in the House of Commons, he seemed to have a great sense of public propriety; he was not tedious, but he sometimes enlarged on subjects more than was necessary; a defect which his enemies criticised with peculiar severity. But Mr. Gerard Hamilton (than whom a better judge of public speaking

has seldom been seen), observed, that he was that speaker, who, in his support of government, had always something to say which gratified the house. "He can go out in all weathers," continued Mr. Hamilton, "and as a debater is therefore inestimable."

He had attended much to the stage, and acquired a clearness and propriety of intonation, that gave, what he said, great impression. In his younger days he lived in great habits of intimacy with Quin, who admired his talents, and improved his elocution.

From some of his coadjutors he differed in one respect particularly; he never recommended a bad measure, that he might display an obtrusive and vulgar zeal for government, nor appeared a champion for British interest in preference to that of his own country. He always spoke of it with respect and affection; and as, in the course of time, questions came forward, which, when he first engaged in business, Parliament would have shrunk from, he was not awed into silence, but supported them all. The Octennial bill, the Free Trade, the Catholic bill, in which he was followed with hereditary talents and spirit; and latterly the parliamentary reform. On the last-mentioned subject he spoke with no diminished powers: time had, indeed, changed his manner, but it was the placid manner of dignified age; and the house seemed to listen to him with peculiar and grateful satisfaction. His acceptance of the provostship of Trinity College was an unwise step; injurious to his peace, and almost clouding every prospect in his profession; the highest

honours of which he would, in all probability, have otherwise obtained. After a long enjoyment of parliamentary fame, it was then said that he was no speaker ; and, after the most lucrative practice at the bar, that he was no lawyer. But the public ultimately decides with propriety and candour. And all the force of wit and talents arrayed against him in his academical quarrels could not authenticate these supposed discoveries of his want of knowledge and ability ; his country thought far otherwise, and his reputation as a man of genius, and an active and well informed statesman, remained undiminished to the last.

He was a man of high spirit ; when he left opposition, in 1760, and took the prime serjeancy, some of his enemies attempted to attack him in the House of Commons ; but he asserted himself with such a lofty and firm tone, that it was thought prudent to attack him no more. In private life he was amiable, and in the several duties of father and husband most exemplary.

HARDY.

LORD NORTH.

LORD NORTH possesses great natural acuteness, which he has improved by art and experience. With considerable dignity, he unites those powers of wit which are both agreeable in adorning a narration, and particularly fertile and happy in exciting ridicule. His memory is rich in the knowledge of antiquity, and happy in applying it to his purpose. His speeches distinguish him

as an individual most amiably resolved to bear with the infirmities and follies of mankind ; and often has his polished urbanity restrained the ill humour and asperity of others. His style, though not much ornamented, is certainly not mean ; he comprehends a subject readily, and explains it with success. It is not his smallest praise, that he not only says all that is necessary to his purpose, but that he never says more. Upon all occasions he discerns the proper limit, and would rather conclude to avoid exciting tediousness, than hazard the failure of obtaining attention by speaking too long. Considering him as a civilian, we cannot think him deficient in any one quality necessary to form the politician. To these accomplishments of the orator, possessed from nature or acquired by diligence, is added the genuine and the greatest love of his country, whose ancient forms and discipline he not only understands to admiration, but defends, whenever they become subject matter of dispute, with vigour and with firmness.

If we investigate more minutely the character of his mind, we shall have occasion to observe that when in possession of the highest dignity, and opposed by a powerful competitor, he conducted himself with the extrekest moderation. We shall find him steady in his attachments, placable when offended, successful in inspiring that confidence which he never disappointed ; never using his power to the depression of the weak ; without the very appearance of criminality, unless it be imputed to him, that, in the prosecution of the American war, he did not keep

pace with the ardour of public expectation.—That war, originally occasioned by measures in which he had no concern, was undertaken by him with hesitation and reluctance. All resistance being ineffectual, he was impelled to arms—to arms already stained with unexpiated blood—by the combined efforts of the sovereign, the senate, and the people.

He has left us an impressive but melancholy example how little the remembrance of past liberality benefits the generous donor; but how essentially noble minds may be injured by incautious credulity, and the imputation of imagined criminality. He possesses, however, in the sacred recesses of his heart, what enables him to support with complacency the heaviest oppressions of calamity. Whenever, with conscious rectitude, his memory dwells on that acrimony of reproach which has pursued his character; whenever he calls to mind the faithlessness, the ingratitude, of that gaudy tribe, whom he led by the hand to honours and to wealth; he will remember also, and exclaim in the language of Lycurgus, “What manner of citizen do you suppose me to be, who, having so long conducted public affairs, have perhaps given money for the prevention of injustice, but never received any thing to promote it?”

DR. PARR*.

* One of the three books of Bellendenus “De Statu” is also inscribed by Dr. Parr to Lord North, in the following animated panegyric:—“ In testimony of the profoundest reverence, attachment, and admiration, this book is dedicated to the most honourable Frederic Lord North, who, in that species of eloquence steady to its object, whilst temperate in

* * * *

He was a man of admirable parts ; of general knowledge ; of a versatile understanding fitted for every sort of business ; of infinite wit and pleasantry ; of a delightful temper ; and with a mind most perfectly disinterested. But it would be only to degrade myself by a weak adulation, and not to honour the memory of a great man, to deny that he wanted something of the vigilance, and spirit of command, that the time required.

BURKE.

* * * *

When in process of time I saw and knew Lord North in his retirement from all public affairs, patient, collected, resigned to an afflicting visitation of the severest sort, when all but his illuminated mind was dark around him, I contemplated an affecting and an edifying object that claimed my admiration and esteem ; a man who, when divested of that incidental greatness which high office for a time can give, self dignified and independent, rose to real greatness of his own creating, which no time can take away ; whose genius gave

its means, is confessedly unrivaled ; who, in every social intercourse of life, preserves the truest dignity, neither tinged with gloom, nor debased by severity, but marked by affability and the sweetest humour ; who, possessing claims to the partial regards of the first both of men and citizens, with simple and unaffected candour has shown himself able to forget enmities ; who, when deserted by the faithless train of ungrateful followers, suffered no resentment to pursue them ; who, in defending the laws and constitution of his country, was uniformly vigilant ; who, in times replete with danger, and involving his own security, rested unappalled on the noble consciousness of virtue."

a grace to every thing he said, and whose benignity shed a lustre upon every thing he did ; so richly was his memory stored, and so lively was his imagination in applying what he remembered, that after the great source of information was shut against himself, he still possessed a boundless fund of information for the instruction and delight of others.

CUMBERLAND.

THE RIGHT HON. C. J. FOX.

MR. FOX united in a most remarkable degree the seemingly repugnant characters of the mildest of men and the most vehement of orators. In private life he was gentle, modest, placable, kind, of simple manners, and so averse from dogmatism, as to be not only unostentatious, but even something inactive in conversation. His superiority was never felt but in the instruction which he imposed, or in the attention which his generous preference usually directed to the more obscure members of the company. The simplicity of his manners was far from excluding that perfect urbanity and amenity which flowed still more from the mildness of his nature, than from familiar intercourse with the most polished society of Europe. The pleasantry, perhaps, of no man of wit had so unlaboured an appearance. It seemed rather to escape from his mind than to be produced by it. He had lived on the most intimate terms with all his contemporaries distinguished for politeness, or philosophy, or learning, or the talents of public life. In the course of thirty

years he had known almost every man in Europe whose intercourse could strengthen, or enrich, or polish the mind. His own literature was various and elegant. In classical erudition, which by the custom of England is more peculiarly called learning, he was inferior to few professed scholars. Like all men of genius, he delighted to take refuge in poetry from the vulgarity and irritation of business. His own verses were easy and pleasant, and might have claimed no low place among those which the French call *vers de société*. The poetical character of his mind was displayed by his extraordinary partiality for the poetry of the two most poetical nations, or, at least, languages of the West, those of the Greeks and of the Italians. He disliked political conversation, and never willingly took any part in it. To speak of him justly as an orator would require a long essay. Every where natural, he carried into public something of that simple and negligent exterior which belonged to him in private. When he began to speak, a common observer might have thought him awkward ; and even a consummate judge could only have been struck with the exquisite justness of his ideas, and the transparent simplicity of his manners. But no sooner had he spoken for some time than he was changed into another being : he forgot himself and every thing around him : he thought only of his subject : his genius warmed and kindled as he went on. He darted fire into his audience. Torrents of impetuous and irresistible eloquence swept along their feelings and conviction. He certainly possessed above all moderns that union

of reason, simplicity, and vehemence which formed the prince of orators. He was the most Demosthenean speaker since the days of Demosthenes: "I knew him," says Mr. Burke, in a pamphlet written after their unhappy difference, "when he was nineteen; since which time he has risen by slow degrees to be the most brilliant and accomplished debater that the world ever saw." The quiet dignity of a mind roused only to great objects, but the absence of petty bustle, the contempt of show, the abhorrence of intrigue, the plainness and downrightness, and the thorough good nature which distinguished Mr. Fox, seem to render him no unfit representative of the old English character, which, if it ever changed, we should be sanguine indeed to expect to see it succeeded by a better. The simplicity of his character inspired confidence, the ardour of his eloquence roused enthusiasm, and the gentleness of his manners invited friendship. "I admired," says Mr. Gibbon, "the powers of a superior man, as they are blended, in his attractive character, with all the softness and simplicity of a child: no human being ever was more free from any taint of malignity, vanity, or falsehood." From these qualities of his public and private character it probably arose, that no English statesman ever preserved, during so long a period of adverse fortune, so many affectionate friends, and so many zealous adherents. The union of ardour in public sentiment, with mildness in social manners, was in Mr. Fox an hereditary quality. The same fascinating power over the attachment of all who came within his sphere is

said to have belonged to his father ; and those who know the survivors of another generation will feel this delightful quality is not yet extinct in the race.

Perhaps nothing can more strongly prove the deep impression made by this part of Mr. Fox's character than the words of Mr. Burke, who, in January, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, six years after all intercourse between them had ceased, speaking to a person honoured with some degree of Mr. Fox's friendship, said, "To be sure he is a man made to be loved!" And these emphatical words were uttered with a fervour of manner which left no doubt of their heart-felt sincerity.

These few hasty and honest sentiments are sketched in a temper too sober and serious for intentional exaggeration, and with too pious an affection for the memory of Mr. Fox to profane it with any intermixture with the factious brawls and wrangles of the day. His political conduct belongs to history. The measures which he supported or opposed may divide the opinion of posterity, as they have divided those of the present age. But he will most certainly command the unanimous reverence of future generations by his pure sentiments toward the commonwealth, by his zeal for the civil and religious rights of all men, by his liberal principles favourable to mild government, to the unfettered exercise of the human faculties, and the progressive civilization of mankind ; by his ardent love for a country of which the well being and greatness were, indeed, inseparable from his own glory ;

and by his profound reverence for that free constitution which he was universally admitted to understand better than any other man of his age, both in an exactly legal and in a comprehensively philosophical sense.

SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.

* * * *

My third illustrious character possesses a mind great and lofty, and at the same time full of candour and simplicity ; who alone claims the singular merit of excelling in every species of eloquence.

But on this subject there are a variety of sentiments, both amongst the vulgar and amongst men who have obtained some small tincture of learning ; I shall discuss it somewhat more at large, and with all the perspicuity I am able.

I have seen many orators discomposed and distracted from their extreme solicitude in the choice of words*. But the mind of Mr. Fox is so continually exercised in the contemplation of various subjects, that the expressions most appropriate to each seem to present themselves spontaneously. He well knows that there is no word without its own peculiar force and propriety ; so that many which, abstractedly considered, may seem mean and vulgar, acquire from his application of them consequence and beauty. If the occasion demand it, he can at pleasure adopt ornament, or energy, with every variety of modulation. He has the faculty of expressing the most difficult things with a certain ease and

* Quint. lib. xii. cap. 16.

perspicuity, which does not appear the result of previous meditation. Whilst he speaks, he communicates universal animation. Every one who hears him participates his spirit; and is impressed, not as by the mere image and representation of things, but as if interested by the view of present and new created objects ; the qualities therefore of ardour and of energy no one can deny him. Some there are, however, who, from a disposition hard to be satisfied, declare that he is entirely destitute of those happier powers of oratory which skilfully select and display the more florid beauties of eloquence ; but these inferior, though pleasing ornaments, he avoids from judgment, not from their difficulty of attainment. Those sentiments which are introduced with propriety, and expressed with a force which captivates attention and impresses conviction, have, upon recollection or perusal, an appropriate beauty, not perhaps gaudy or meretricious, but what Cicero admires as genuine and permanent.

Mr. Fox possesses one admirable distinction ; he is never known to violate the purity of the English idiom. Many who, in their attempts to shine, introduce foreign expressions—and disdaining the unaffected language of simplicity, acquire a strange and offensive dialect—are over-powered by his raillery, conveyed in the chaste terms of his own language. He well knows that the oratory which is obscure, can never be admired : he knows also, that those expressions which convey most information, have always most dignity, and frequently most beauty. He *is* sensible, withal, that the thunder of his elo-

quence can never be successfully employed, unless under the direction of a certain regulated force; for which reason he sometimes uses such full continuity of expression, as seems in a manner to disdain the preciseness of connection, but in reality defies the torture of the severest criticism. Sometimes he separates his speech into minuter sentences, which have nevertheless a certain order and rhythm. In these instances he may be thought negligent, but they excite no prejudice against him; they mark a man more solicitous to satisfy the judgment than captivate the ear. Yet he is particularly careful not to maim or weaken his sentences: he never violently inserts pompous but unmeaning words to fill up, as it were, some cavity. He never fatigues or oppresses the attention by vain and idle ornaments; a subterfuge which the judgment rejects with all possible disdain. He is consequently neither diffuse nor confused, neither impotent nor disjointed.

When he is about to conclude, he varies his powers with uncommon dexterity; and is either open or reserved, as circumstance requires.

So much has Mr. Fox been benefited by thought and by experience, that his knowledge appears to extend to every place; and he not only perceives in a moment what is worthy his pursuit, but he discerns where it is to be obtained: to which we should add, that he is perfectly familiar with all the forms of law, the subtleties of logic, and the application of both. Whenever any subject involving them is to be discussed, we have to admire his genius and sagacity; he can either explain or discuss them copiously, or dis-

pute minutely and perspicuously concerning them. What is separate and disjointed, he can connect and contract ; what is abstract and obscure, he can scientifically unfold : not with imperfect, unconvincing hesitation ; nor by the aid of pompous and ostentatious language ; but in a manner prompt, clear, satisfactory ; and in terms adapted to every judgment, and intelligible to the meanest capacity.

If he does not forcibly impress his audience at the commencement of his speeches, his strong and varied power, as he proceeds, progressively rouses and fixes attention. His introductory skirmishes, if we may so term them, are so contrived—not for insulting parade in imitation of the Samnites, who did not use in battle the spears which they brandished before—but so as to be of the greatest advantage to his purpose, when he appears more particularly anxious after victory. When strenuously pressed, he retreats, not as if he had thrown away, or even dropped his shield ; but he seems wholly collected in himself, and merely to be making use of a feint, whilst selecting a better situation. When his object is to refute his opponents, he accumulates all his power. Sometimes he applies the more compressed weapons of logic, and with their extreme acuteness harasses those who are most versed and most obstinate in contest. Sometimes he expands himself, and lets loose all the reins to that species of eloquence, which is more diffusive, more magnificent, and more splendid. But all the superior greatness of his genius is then apparent, when unresisted he takes possession of what seemed capable of a

vigorous defence ; when he describes the opinions and manners of mankind ; when he applies examples ; when he alarms his adversaries with apprehensions of the future ; when he denounces vengeance against crimes, or renders praise to virtue ; when he passes the limits which restrain ordinary speakers ; when he expresses the emotions of supplication, of hope, of detestation.

The complacent respect of an audience is principally excited by the dignity of the speaker, his actions, and his moral reputation. The great opponent of Mr. Fox, although in this respect he possesses no actual superiority, is yet so circumspect in the regulation of his conduct, as to appear an honest, upright, moral character. However this may be, Mr. Fox possesses all the perfection and wisdom of eloquence ; he never wastes his time in idle disputation, but has wholly employed his abilities in the study of political business. When he has once satisfied his mind about the rectitude of an action, he directs with vigilance and strict propriety all the talents of his mind, all the powers of art, to the accomplishment of his purpose ; for which reason he always appears to me to feel himself, with all imaginable force, the impression he endeavours to communicate.

Wisdom, as of all other arts, is the foundation of eloquence ; but the man whose scientific attainments have received the maturity of experience, will not be retained where the obscure streamlet of eloquence meanders, but rushes forward to where the full torrent of the tide bursts forth. But Mr. Fox, and in a manner which exceedingly becomes him, frequently assumes the humbler

part of minutest explanation. Whenever he condescends to this, he obtains all that he can wish ; but he can in a moment resume his dignity, and ascend, through every gradation, to the height of all which claims admiration. His oratory is at times so very rapid, that it appears somewhat obscure, from its extreme acuteness and celerity ; but it still would not be easy to adopt expressions more significant, or more full of meaning : yet, in all that he says, there is an obvious vigour and beauty peculiar to himself. He seems withal to exhibit that artificial shade, which makes such beauties more conspicuously observable : he possesses in common with Demosthenes the faculty of keeping his object constantly in view, and of impressing it, with the wished for effect, on the minds of his audience.

I would wish such to understand, who have been misled by erroneous representation, that the very circumstance which is urged in diminution of Mr. Fox's excellence, is equally a proof of his skill and of his genius. His sentences, if minutely examined, are so exquisite and so profound, that they seem rather the result of philosophical investigation, than borrowed from the schools of rhetoric. They are sometimes confined to disquisitions of a personal nature ; at others, they involve the history of past, or the occurrences of modern times ; occasionally they comprehend subjects of a universal nature. The better to excite and fix the attention, he disposes them in various points of view. With infinite skill he accommodates his speeches to the different tastes and prejudices of different hearers :

he introduces so much novelty, calls to his aid such strong and unexpected arguments, and applies them so admirably to the occasion, that he fascinates even those who are prejudiced against him, or hurries them unresisting along with him.

I have before remarked that the abilities of Mr. Fox are adequate to every possible occurrence. But whenever a subject presents itself, which claims the full exertion of his talents, he stands forth with a kind of luminous activity, and shows how vast are the powers of eloquence. He then seems like a torrent hurrying the mountain rocks before it, and disdaining all restraints of bridges or of banks. This force and celerity of speaking Eupolis formerly admired in Pericles, and the most violent opponents of Mr. Fox hear, confess, and are astonished.

When I contemplate the unworthy fortune which has attended this most exalted character, I am indignant from the memory of the past, and full of grief from the expectation of the future. He himself, however, may proudly claim the public gratitude; for, in the midst of calamity, which menaces the security of the most deserving citizens, he consoles himself with the consciousness of integrity, with the fair and undeluding hope that posterity will render justice to his fame.

DR. PARR*.

* In his dedication of one of the books of Bellandenus, Dr. Parr adds the following testimony to the worth and talents of Mr. Fox:—"With becoming sentiments of reverence, this book is inscribed to Charles James Fox, because he has not only cultivated the purest and most accomplished

THE RIGHT HON. W. PITT.

THE character of this illustrious statesman early passed its ordeal. Scarcely had he attained the age at which reflection commences, than Europe with astonishment beheld him filling the first place in the councils of his country, and manage the vast mass of its concerns with all the vigour and steadiness of the most matured wisdom. Dignity, strength, discretion, these were among the masterly qualities of his mind at its first dawn. He had been nurtured a statesman, and his knowledge was of that kind which always lies ready for practical application. Not dealing in the subtleties of abstract politics, but moving in the slow, steady procession of reason, his conceptions were reflective, and his views correct. Habitually attentive to the concerns of government, he spared no pains to acquaint himself with whatever was

eloquence, but applied it, in all its perfection, to the safety and dignity of his country ; because, in contracting either friendships or enmities, he has always shown himself in the former immutable, placable in the latter ; because, with a mind firm, consistent, invincible, he has continued steady to his principles, disdaining the resentments of wicked men ; because, in a business obviously claiming the public regard, he conducted himself, not as the insidious follower of popularity, but with perseverance and with fortitude ; because, lastly, in that most dishonourable shipwreck of a most excellent and sagacious senate, he deemed that, and that only, to be afflicting, which he knew to be base. To be the noble guardian of the public weal, in conjunction with virtuous men, was to him far more estimable than a union with those who were unprincipled, pregnant with danger, perfidy, and avarice."

connected, however minutely, with its prosperity. He was devoted to the state : its interests engrossed all his study and engaged all his care : it was the element alone in which he seemed to live and move. He allowed himself but little recreation from his labours ; his mind was always on its station, and his activity was unremitting.

He did not hastily adopt a measure, nor hastily abandon it. The plan struck out by him for the preservation of Europe was the result of prophetic wisdom and profound policy. But though defeated in many respects by the selfish ambition and short-sighted imbecility of foreign powers, whose rulers were too venal or too weak to follow the flight of that mind which would have taught them to outwing the storm, the policy involved in it has still a secret operation on the conduct of surrounding states. His plans were full of energy, and the principles which inspired them looked beyond the consequences of the hour. In a period of change and convulsion, the most perilous in the history of Great Britain, when sedition stalked abroad, and when the emissaries of France and the abettors of her regicide factions formed a league powerful from their number, and formidable by their talent, in that awful crisis the promptitude of his measures saved his country.

He knew nothing of that timid and wavering cast of mind which dares not abide by its own decision. He never suffered popular prejudice or party clamour to turn him aside from any measure which his deliberate judgment had adopted ; he had a proud reliance on himself, and it was

justified. Like the sturdy warrior leaning on his own battleaxe, conscious where his strength lay, he did not readily look beyond it.

As a debater in the House of Commons, his speeches were logical and argumentative : if they did not often abound in the graces of metaphor, or sparkle with the brilliancy of wit, they were always animated, elegant, and classical. The strength of his oratory was intrinsic ; it presented the rich and abundant resource of a clear discernment and a correct taste.. His speeches are stamped with inimitable marks of originality. When replying to his opponents, his readiness was not more conspicuous than his energy : he was always prompt and always dignified. He could sometimes have recourse to the sportiveness of irony, but he did not often seek any other aid than was to be derived from an arranged and extensive knowledge of his subject. This qualified him fully to discuss the arguments of others, and forcibly to defend his own. Thus armed, it was rarely in the power of his adversaries, mighty as they were, to beat him from the field. His eloquence, occasionally rapid, electric, vehement, was always chaste, winning, and persuasive, not awing into acquiescence, but arguing into conviction. His understanding was bold and comprehensive : nothing seemed too remote for its reach, or too large for its grasp. Unallured by dissipation, and unswayed by pleasure, he never sacrificed the national treasure to the one, or the national interest to the other. To his unswerving integrity the most authentic of all testimony is to be found in that unbounded public

confidence which followed him throughout the whole of his political career.

Absorbed as he was in the pursuits of public life, he did not neglect to prepare himself in silence for that higher destination, which is at once the incentive and reward of human virtue. His talents, superior and splendid as they were, never made him forgetful of that Eternal Wisdom from which they emanated. The faith and fortitude of his last moments were affecting and exemplary. In his forty-seventh year, and in the meridian of his fame, he died on the twenty-third of January, 1806.

RIGHT HON. G. CANNING.

* * * *

I have some difficulty in delivering my sentiments concerning the style of this young man's eloquence, because there are few adequate judges of the matter itself; but a vast multitude who are ignorantly devoted to his cause. They who are without the faculty of taste and judgment are filled with admiration whenever they hear what is beyond the line of their experience or somewhat too refined for their comprehension.

They who think deeper than the vulgar will allow that to be, at best, but a popular and plausible eloquence, which glitters with puerile points; which swells with tumid insignificance; which carries its bombast almost to frenzy, and mistakes the rash for the sublime. That species of eloquence which Hume declared he could conceive in his mind, but never knew to be attained, his partisans appropriate to the minis-

ter. This imagined model of perfection they fancy that they lead by the hand. A young man with the greatest acuteness of understanding, regularly trained in the most perfect discipline, by no means unacquainted with jurisprudence; who, when he rises in the senate, never fails to charm the ear and delight the passions; who has all the splendid stores of eloquence perfectly at command; who is copious, elegant, and sublime.

Having taken this opportunity of giving my sentiments to the public, I shall relate, with unreserved freedom, what from various and important reasons I have hitherto concealed. This young man is distinguished by an ornamented and florid style of eloquence, which, as it seems altogether transferred to the senate from the schools of the sophists, offends the sagacity of some, and the dignity of others. He possesses one faculty, in my opinion his chief recommendation, of speaking with facility on all occasions. The ancients were accustomed to believe this talent could only be the effect, though the honourable effect, of continual industry. Whatever is the necessity of the occasion, as soon as he rises, at the very waving of his hand and motion of his foot, an exuberance of words (like the Pompeian band, bound to their leader by the solemnity of an oath), press themselves forwards with zealous eagerness; and very remarkable it is that, whilst speaking with great variety, and still greater celerity, in all the turns and changes of debate, he is accurate in the choice, and correct in the application of his words, that he never in the

minutest instance deviates from grammatical precision. To which facility it is to be added, that in disputation he preserves one uniform tenour, and that regularity which seems best and most properly adapted to the order of his sentiments, as prompted by the contingency of the occasion. There is no pause nor hesitation in his speaking ; he never seems to deliberate, even for a moment, as if selecting, from two things present to his fancy, the one most eligible for use or for ornament.

There are many, however, who do not entirely approve of that rapidity of style, which is produced by the imagination when warm with new ideas. Yet these, nevertheless, acknowledge, that if this style were committed to writing, it could not be made more polished or more perfect. The application perhaps of unusual, and of what are termed *attic expressions*, may be defective in strength, but is sometimes exceedingly beautiful. It sometimes also happens that a sentence, however decorated by well chosen words, carries with it little or no impression ; the words themselves may be offensive in their operation upon the ear : and very often the speech to which we have listened with attentive pleasure appears, when we have the opportunity of examining it at leisure, weak, trifling, and unconnected.

The minister's style of oratory is always severe, and sometimes acrimonious ; indeed it is sometimes necessary to make the retaliation his asperity provokes. At ridicule also he makes occasional attempts, either to prevent the effects of weariness,

ness and satiety on his audience, or probably by way of relaxation to his own genius, naturally of a very different propensity. But in this respect he fails altogether; he is neither pointed, elegant, nor witty; and obviously discovers that, like Demosthenes, he is not so much averse to facetiousness as unsuccessful in attaining it.

But his principal defect is entirely different from any thing I have yet mentioned. As a civilian, in which kind of knowledge it becomes an orator to be particularly accomplished, he has no claim to praise. He is destitute of that rationalization which is applied by philosophy to the investigation of human nature and human manners. He possessed not the impressive power of exciting the ardour of the soul, and of leaving on the minds of his hearers an energy not easily effaced. To obtain our applause, his speeches should be more compressed and less voluble; with greater marks of study and polished artifice; with a spirit of harmony natural and unaffected; not, as it were, laboured and constrained. If we determine that to be the only genuine eloquence, which at one time rouses to ardour, at another steals upon the sense; which communicates new ideas, and operates to the extinction of inveterate prejudice; the present minister is by many degrees distant from his father's excellence.

He is by nature vehement and impetuous, and can by no means allow a syllable to fall from another's tongue that is not either agreeable or honourable to himself. It is this very circumstance which induces me to check his presumption

and to restrain his petulant promptitude of speech by a few questions of this nature. To these ostentatious ornaments, so conspicuous in his speeches, does he add those which are derived from polished erudition—which in youth, a state entitled to every indulgence, we listen to with praise? Does he attend sufficiently to those events which modern times revere as sacred? Or is his mind enriched with those stories of ancient literature, which are not only delightful to hear, but in illustration are considered as equally authentic and satisfactory? Does he apply those words which breathe and glow, the delight of the studious and the learned, happily to his subject, or introduce them in his speeches with effect? Does he communicate any thing uncommonly exquisite, any thing fully adequate to the expectation of those whose learning is extensive, and whose judgments are mature? any thing, in short, to which men of continued experience, or even men of more moderate attainments, can ascribe the praise of originality? Of these perfections he possessed none. I am therefore less reluctant in allowing him the merit of that eloquence which is trite and common. I will go further; I will acknowledge, and it is one perfection of an orator, that he discovers marks of considerable attention, that he has received some benefit from reading. But if, at any time, somewhat peculiarly exquisite has been introduced in his speeches, which has not frequently happened, it is to me sufficiently obvious that he has drawn it from other sources than his own.

It is not very long since he left with disdain

our inferior courts, as places of drudgery, ill suited to his talents. But what others usually attain from art, or from habit, we may suppose him to have received from nature, or from the slightest application possible. Hence it happens that common phrases appear floating about an immense ocean of words, some from Livy, others from Lucan, both well known to schoolboys and smatterers in learning: so that his style of oratory upon some occasions marks the declaimer from the schools; at others, the wrangler from the bar. Let it by no means be imputed to him as a merit, that he never expresses alarm about the events of debate, or that he despises the magnitude and difficulty of the affairs to be conducted, however serious and extensive. Marcus Crassus made no scruple of confessing that, when beginning to speak, he frequently turned pale, was discomposed in his mind, and trembled in every limb. Cicero also acknowledges, that whenever the remembrance of the day in which he was to speak occurred, he was not only agitated in his mind, but he showed his agitation outwardly. But no one ever saw our present minister in the smallest degree disordered by fear, or embarrassed by that ingenuous and lovely modesty, so becoming in the youthful character. There are some, I know, who esteem this an admirable quality *; but, in the opinion of Marcus Crassus, the best and the finest speakers may well deserve the imputation of impudence, if they do not rise with some degree of timidity, and show some little embarrassment at the commencement of their speeches.

* Cicero.

Young men may, indeed, be expected both to speak more copiously, and to use more daring expressions. But there is nothing in the nature of things which unfolds itself all at once, or exhibits in one moment all its constituent parts : if therefore the immature brow of the orator be precipitately hardened, if he assume rashly the more obnoxious qualities, what might have been produced and prepared in the best part of life, with the happiest effect, is altogether abased. For I would ask, are not the seeds of arrogance planted? Does not a rash confidence anticipate the powers of the mind? Does not the orator become tumid, self-conceited, and eloquent, to the injury of the public?

Whether Hume was possessed of that sagacity which almost claims the appellation of divine, I pretend not to determine ; but I well know this is not the character which that philosopher esteemed the pride and the ornament of a listening senate. They who are versed in these things, and who form their judgment with cool deliberation, will, I doubt not, afford me their cheerful assent, when I declare that the words of Cicero, as applicable to some recent affairs, seemed marked by a prophetic spirit. " When he who as an orator had often been moderate, and sometimes had risen to excellence, omitting the study of wisdom, had obtained nothing beyond oratorical ability ; it happened that, in the opinion of the multitude and himself, he was deemed a proper person to guide the helm of government *."

* Cic. Rhet.

If we seriously contemplate this young man's character, we shall see him at one time conceitedly vain of his very absurdities ; at another, in the midst of difficulties, perplexed and ignorant : and are obliged to confess that no individual was ever so unlike himself. Upon other occasions he is vehement and irritable, scattering his insolent reproaches around him, and attempting the possession of his object by the most hostile violence. In some things he resembles the character of Lancaster, as described by Shakspeare's Jolly Knight, whose facetiousness and goodly stuffed body, the servile companions of him whom we describe, hold in deadly abhorrence. " This same young sober-blooded boy doth not love me : nor a man cannot make him laugh ; but that's no marvel, he drinks no wine. There's never any of these demure boys come to any proof ; for their drink doth so overcool their blood, and making many fish meals, that they fall into a kind of male green sickness †".

The one day he appears so tied down and constrained by certain prejudices of sentiment, that, like the ancient dogmatists, he is compelled, that his dignity or firmness may not be questioned, to vindicate what it is impossible he should approve. The morrow perhaps effects a total change in his opinions ; and he thinks nothing so indiscreet, so unbecoming the gravity of a wise man, as to defend with perseverance what he has not very seriously investigated. Then again, like the daw, bold and gaudy in its borrowed colours, he scruples not to insult with vulgar contumely the ears

† Henry IV. Part II. Act iv. Sc. 7.

of them to whose sagacity he owes whatever is pure and prudent in his counsels.

He has learned from Minucius to consider him as the first character, who is himself competent to determine wisely; the next is he who is obedient to wise instructors. He therefore takes every possible means to make it appear, that he is fully capable of conducting with discretion his own concerns, and still not averse to listen to advice. It makes, however, a wonderful difference, whether you take from another modestly what may be applied to your own advantage, or whether you snatch it with indecent violence. When domestic resources are poor and contracted, necessity may prompt, and somewhat extenuate an attack upon the property of others. But it is the mark of a mean and invidious disposition, of a mind equally reluctant to yield, and unable by fair and honourable contest to obtain the victory, to load those with vindictive reproaches who have been the instruments of our benefit*. He who does not disdain being instructed by an enemy, should at least allow that enemy the merit he deserves.

DR. PARR.

THE RIGHT HON. R. B. SHERIDAN.

IT cannot, however, be denied that there are some amongst his adversaries (Mr. Pitt's) with whom he consistently avoids the encounter: for he fails in obtaining the applause even of his friends, whenever he opposes himself to that man

* Virgil.

(Mr. Sheridan), whose talents as an orator, or a disputant, are so eminently great; who penetrates into every subject of whatever nature, and understands every weapon exercised in its defence; who rivals Hyperides and Lysias in acuteness, and Menander and Aristophanes in wit.

From the above character Mr. Pitt, with conscious inferiority, sometimes recedes, as if anxious for a pretext to avoid controversy. When he is unable to do this, he forsakes his sarcastic and twisted mode of disputation, and begins to render praise to his opponent, in a manner which shows how greatly he fears him. It would be surprising, indeed, if he, and especially a young man, who contends with Sheridan, did not throw away his weapons, and spare his unavailing powers. The more subtle and inveterate disputants, it becomes either to be silent altogether, or to listen with respectful deference; for, to a profound knowledge of affairs, Sheridan unites all the essential accomplishments of the orator. His vein of humour is great and delightful; his erudition is polite, elegant, and extensive; his quickness of apprehension, and acuteness of reply, are really wonderful; besides which, he upon all occasions discovers the most ingenuous and exquisite urbanity.

It is believed that an orator, however moderately accomplished, if he has any merit at all, can secure the attention of his audience. For my part, great as is the crowd of the minister's friends, I have seldom met with one who can, in any respect, compare with Sheridan. I have among them found several not defective in abi-

lity, but without oratorical ability. The attainments of some of them are very scanty indeed ; their natural talents much more so : they are so far from being eloquent speakers, that they do not merit the appellation of speakers at all. Others of them are obscure and *new made* men ; becoming orators very suddenly, and distinguished by their rude vulgarity of style. We will therefore suffer the crowd, the bold Gyas, and the bold Cloanthus, to pass unnoticed, as men who cannot speak with elegance, and are inadequate to the labour of thinking. There are two whom I place in the same scale with Sheridan ; one of whom may be called the leader of the combat, the other is the second part actor.

The celerity of the minister in *action* is ever so prompt and so prepared, that nothing can possibly be more specious. But Sheridan excels him in acuteness, and sometimes in diligence ; always in poignancy and wit.

Next to the minister, but with a long interval of distance—next to him, however, is Grenville ; who, unequal, and indeed vanquished in the contest, has still carried from it the no mean honour of having contended with Sheridan. This young man has a sufficient share of learning, a prudent and careful considerateness, and a commendable share of industry. But to him, in expediting and perfecting affairs, Sheridan is far superior ; and combines, what is very difficult indeed to accomplish, conciseness with ornament.

There may be orators of very great excellence, who differ essentially from each other. We will therefore venture to compare Sheridan with some

who either resemble him in ardour, or are united to him by the ties of friendship and affection.

Each of the three characters, of whom I have made frequent mention, is accomplished in his own way nearly to perfection; but not one of them possesses a recommendation which is common to them all. I had almost said that Sheridan has attained whatever individually distinguishes them, and supplied what they respectively want of perfection. The golden tide of eloquence which Burke pours forth; the urbanity, the easy unstudied elegance of North; the subtlety, the vigour, the variety of Fox;—all these qualities are conspicuously united in Sheridan.

In the late public cause instituted against a public governor, how extensive were his claims to favour and to fame! With what energy of voice and spirit did he attach the attention of his hearers of all ranks, ages, and parties! In how wonderful a manner did he communicate delight, and incline the most reluctant spirits to his purpose!

To the discussion of this cause he came admirably prepared—all was anxious expectation and attention. From the very beginning he appeared to justify impatience. That subject, so various, complicated, and abstruse, he comprehended with precision, and explained with systematic acuteness. He placed every argument in that particular point where it had the greatest energy and effect. Throughout a very long speech he was careful to use no imprudent expression, but manifestly and uniformly consistent with himself; his style was dexterously adapted to the contingency

of the occasion : in one part he was copious and splendid ; in another more concise and pointed, and gave additional polish to truth. As he found it necessary, he instructed, delighted, or agitated his hearers. He appeared to have no other object in view but that of giving the fairest termination to the business ; to prove the guilt of the accused by the most indisputable evidence ; and to confirm the object of the investigation by strong and decisive reasoning. Then first did that *Scot*, audacious as he is, tremble with alarm, and altogether forget his usual loquacity. But the minister rendered Sheridan the tribute of his suffrage, either because he felt the irresistible impression of his eloquence, or chose to embrace this as the fairest opportunity of atoning for his former most reproachful conduct.

At that time Sheridan discovered a spirit of wit and humour, not mean and vulgar, but consistent with the purest eloquence. His oratory was often rapid and diffused, but in no one instance crowded or redundant ; it was, as contingency required, vehement, indignant, and expressive of the justest sorrow : its impression, its splendour, its copiousness and variety, were, in all respects, responsible to the greatness and dignity of the occasion.

With how great applause he was heard by an attentive senate is universally known. His most determined adversaries were compelled to render tribute to his excellence. A large portion was added, not merely to his ingenuous and honourable popularity, but his solid and unfading glory.

Posterity will again and again, with renewed delight and wonder, peruse that composition; and, with heartfelt animation, will often apply to him the words of Æschines—" Oh, that we had heard him!"

DR. PARR.

LORD BYRON.

AMIDST the general calmness of the political atmosphere, we have been stunned, from another quarter, by one of those death-notes which are pealed at intervals, as from an archangel's trumpet, to awaken the soul of a whole people at once. Lord Byron, who has so long and so amply filled the highest place in the public eye, has shared the lot of humanity. His lordship died at Missolonghi, on the nineteenth of April. That mighty genius, which walked amongst men as something superior to ordinary mortality, and whose powers were beheld with wonder, and something approaching to terror, as if we knew not whether they were of good or of evil, is laid as soundly to rest as the poor peasant whose ideas never went beyond his daily task. The voice of just blame and of malignant censure are at once-silenced; and we feel almost as if the great luminary of heaven had suddenly disappeared from the sky, at the moment when every telescope was leveled for the examination of the spots which dimmed its brightness. It is not now the question what were Byron's faults, what his mistakes? but how is the blank which he has

left in British literature to be filled up? Not, we fear, in one generation, which among many highly gifted persons, has produced none who approach Byron in ORIGINALITY, the first attribute of genius. Only thirty-seven years old:—so much already done for immortality—so much time remaining, as it seems to us shortsighted mortals, to maintain and to extend his fame, and to atone for errors in conduct and levities in composition: who will not grieve that such a race has been shortened, though not always keeping the straight path; such a light extinguished, though sometimes flaming to dazzle and to bewilder? One word on this ungrateful subject ere we quit it for ever.

The errors of Lord Byron arose neither from depravity of heart,—for nature had not committed the anomaly of uniting to such extraordinary talents an imperfect moral sense,—nor from feelings dead to the admiration of virtue. No man had ever a kinder heart for sympathy, or a more open hand for the relief of distress; and no mind was ever more formed for the enthusiastic admiration of noble actions, providing he was convinced that the actors had proceeded on disinterested principles. Lord Byron was totally free from the curse and degradation of literature,—its jealousies, we mean, and its envy; but his wonderful genius was of a nature which disdained restraint, even when restraint was most wholesome. When at school, the tasks in which he excelled were those only which he undertook voluntarily; and his situation as a young man of rank, with strong passions, and in the uncon-

trolled enjoyment of a considerable fortune, added to that impatience of strictures or coercion which was natural to him. As an author, he refused to plead at the bar of criticism; as a man, he would not submit to be morally amenable to the tribunal of public opinion. Remonstrances from a friend, of whose intentions and kindness he was secure, had often great weight with him; but there were few who could venture on a task so difficult. Reproof he endured with impatience; and reproach hardened him in his error,—so that he often resembled the gallant war-steed, who rushes forward on the steel that wounds him. In the most painful crisis of his private life, he evinced this irritability and impatience of censure in such a degree, as almost to resemble the noble victim of the bull-fight, which is more maddened by the squibs, darts, and petty annoyances of the unworthy crowds beyond the lists, than by the lance of his nobler, and, so to speak, his more legitimate antagonist. In a word, much of that in which he erred was in bravado and scorn of his censors, and was done with the motive of Dryden's despot, "to show his arbitrary power." It is needless to say that his was a false and prejudiced view of such a contest; and if the noble bard gained a sort of triumph, by compelling the world to read poetry, though mixed with baser matter, because it was *his*, he gave, in return, an unworthy triumph to the unworthy, besides deep sorrow to those whose applause, in his cooler moments, he most valued.

It was the same with his politics, which, on several occasions, assumed a tone menacing and

contemptuous to the constitution of his country ; while, in fact, Lord Byron was in his own heart sufficiently sensible, not only of his privilege as a Briton, but of the distinction attending his high birth and rank, and was peculiarly sensitive of those shades which constitute what is termed the manners of a gentleman. Indeed, notwithstanding his having employed epigrams, and all the petty war of wit, when such would have been much better abstained from, he would have been found, had a collision taken place between the aristocratical parties in the state, exerting all his energies in defence of that to which he naturally belonged.

We are not, however, Byron's apologists ; for now, alas ! he needs none. His excellencies will now be universally acknowledged, and his faults (let us hope and believe) not remembered in his epitaph. It will be recollected what a part he has sustained in British literature since the first appearance of "Childe Harold," a space of nearly sixteen years. There has been no reposing under the shade of his laurels, no living upon the resource of past reputation ; none of that *coddling* and petty precaution which little authors call "*taking care of their fame.*" Byron let his fame take care of itself. His foot was always in the arena, his shield hung always in the lists ; and although his own gigantic renown increased the difficulty of the struggle, since he could produce nothing, however great, which exceeded the public estimates of his genius, yet he advanced to the contest again and again and again, and came always off with distinction, almost always

with complete triumph. As various in composition as Shakspeare himself (this will be admitted by all who are acquainted with his "Don Juan,") he has embraced every topic of human life, and sounded every string on the divine harp, from its slightest to its most powerful and heart-stounding tones. There is scarce a passion or a situation which has escaped his pen; and he might be drawn, like Garrick, between the weeping and the laughing muse, although his most powerful efforts have certainly been dedicated to Melpomene. His genius seemed as prolific as various. The most prodigal use did not exhaust his powers, nay, seemed rather to increase their vigour. Neither "Childe Harold," nor any of the most beautiful of Byron's earlier tales, contain more exquisite morsels of poetry than are to be found scattered through the cantos of "Don Juan," amidst verses which the author appears to have thrown off with an effort as spontaneous as that of a tree resigning its leaves to the wind. But that noble tree will never more bear fruit or blossom! It has been cut down in its strength, and the past is all that remains to us of Byron. We can scarce reconcile ourselves to the idea—scarce think that the voice is silent for ever, which, bursting so often on our ear, was often heard with rapturous admiration, sometimes with regret, but always with the deepest interest:—

All that's bright must fade,
The brightest still the fleetest.

With a strong feeling of awful sorrow, we take leave of the subject. Death creeps upon

our most serious as well as upon our most idle employments ; and it is a reflection solemn and gratifying, that he found our Byron in no moment of levity, but contributing his fortune and hazarding his life, in behalf of a people only endeared to him by their past glories, and as fellow creatures suffering under the yoke of a heathen oppressor. To have fallen in a crusade for freedom and humanity, as in olden times it would have been an atonement for the blackest crimes, may in the present be allowed to expiate greater follies than even exaggerated calumny has propagated against Byron.

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

THE RIGHT HON. EDMUND BURKE.

His end was suited to the simple greatness of mind which he displayed through life ; every way unaffected, without levity, without ostentation, full of natural grace and dignity. He appeared neither to wish nor to dread ; but patiently and placidly to await the appointed hour of his dissolution. He had been listening to some essays of Addison's, in which he ever took delight : he had recommended himself, in many affectionate messages, to the remembrance of those absent friends whom he had never ceased to love ; he had conversed some time, with his accustomed force of thought and expression, on the awful situation of his country ; for the welfare of which his heart was interested to the last beat : he had given, with steady composure, some private directions in contemplation of his approaching death.

when, as his attendants were conveying him to his bed, he sunk down, and, after a short struggle, passed quietly and without a groan to eternal rest, in that mercy which he had just declared he had long sought with unfeigned humiliation, and to which he looked with unfeigned hope.

Of his talents and acquirements in general it is unnecessary to speak. They were long the glory of his country, and the admiration of Europe : they might have been (had it so consisted with the inscrutable counsels of Divine Providence) the salvation of both. If not the most accomplished orator, yet the most eloquent man of his age ; perhaps second to none in any age ; he had still more wisdom than eloquence. He diligently collected it from the wise of all times : but what he had so obtained, he enriched from the vast treasury of his own observation ; and his intellect active, vigorous, comprehensive, trained in the discipline of true philosophy, to whatever subject he applied it, penetrated at once through the surface into the essential forms of things.

With a fancy singularly vivid, he, least of all men in his time, indulged in splendid theories. With more ample materials of every kind than any of his contemporaries, he was the least confident in his own skill to innovate. A statesman of the most enlarged views, in all his policy he was strictly practical, and in his practice he always regarded with holy reverence the institutions and manners derived from our ancestors. It seemed as if he had been endowed with such transcendent powers, and informed with such

extensive knowledge, only to bear the more striking testimony, in these days of rash presumption, how much the greatest mind is singly inferior to the accumulated efforts of innumerable minds in the long flow of centuries.

His private conversation had the same tincture with his public eloquence. He sometimes adorned and dignified it with philosophy, but he never lost the charm of natural ease. There was no subject so trivial, which he did not transiently illuminate with the brilliancy of his imagination. In writing, in speaking, in the senate, or round the table, it was easy to trace the operations of the same genius.

To the protestant religion, as by law established, he was attached from sincere conviction; nor was his a barren belief, without influence on his moral conduct. He was rigid in the system of duties by which he regulated his own actions; liberal in construing those of all other men; warm, but placable; resenting more offences committed against those who were dear to him, than against himself; vehement and indignant only where he thought public justice insulted; compassionate to private distress; lenient even to suffering guilt. As a friend he was perhaps too partial to those whom he esteemed; overrating every little merit, overlooking all their defects; indefatigable in serving them; straining in their favour whatever influence he possessed; and, for their sakes more than his own, regretting that during so long a political life he had so seldom bore any share in power, which he considered only as an instrument of more diffusive

good. In his domestic relations he was worthy (and more than worthy he could not be) of the eminent felicity which for many years he enjoyed; a husband of exemplary tenderness and fidelity; a father fond to excess; the most affectionate of brothers; the kindest master; and, on his part, he has been often heard to declare that, in the most anxious moments of his public life, every care vanished when he entered his own roof.

One who long and intimately knew him, to divert his own sorrow, has paid this very inadequate tribute to his memory. Nothing which relates to such a man can be uninteresting or uninstructive to the public, to whom he truly belonged. Few, indeed, whom the divine goodness has largely gifted, are capable of profiting by the imitation of his genius and learning; but all mankind may grow better by the study of his virtues.

DR. F. LAURENCE.

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There is a man who has a great command of words, esteemed by the vulgar a firstrate orator, simply from his celerity of speaking. Whatever his followers may say will not deter me from speaking what I think of the eloquence of Burke. Athens was the parent and patroness of science; but an Athenian audience would have listened with delight to Burke; would have admired his inventive copiousness of diction; would have thought the goddess Suada herself enthroned upon his lips.

There were some amongst the Romans who considered a dry style and poverty of sentiment

as *attic*, provided the language was polished, courtly, and elegant; and who disdained the lofty, magnificent, copious style of oratory. But many, who prided themselves on their taste, their learning, and their judgment, were ignorant of the gradations, the inequalities, and variety of *attic eloquence*. Cicero himself was by some insolently termed diffuse, Asiatic, and tumid. In these days also there are not wanting those who insinuate that Burke is destitute both of energy and modulation. I am proud to speak a different language. I do not hesitate to aver, that such affected sentiments proceed from an inability to bear the lustre of his eloquence. He who imitates Burke may be assured, that his model is marked by *attic excellence*; he who hears him with delight may be satisfied that his own progress in literature is far from contemptible.

That man requires no studied panegyric as to his moral character; whose manners are conciliating and agreeable, and whose actions are directed by the rules of virtue. But the rectitude and integrity of Burke have been so obviously conspicuous, that, defying all scrutiny into his own, he may be justified in exacting a rigorous account of another's conduct.

DR. PARR *.

* In his dedication of the first book of *Bellandenus* to Burke, Dr. Parr describes him as "a man most peculiarly distinguished by learning alike eloquent, and elegant, and extensive; by those nobler energies of mind, acute to invent, prompt to explain, fruitful to adorn, who has constantly and consistently deserved from science, which meed alone he himself has found to defy every vicissitude of place and time; from the senate, which, when menaced with danger, consi-

THE RIGHT HON. HENRY DUNDAS,
AFTERWARDS LORD MELVILLE.

BEHOLD now the mighty, the enormous Thrasybulus ! whose countenance and appearance affords amplest matter for ridicule. If you wish to know the quality of his eloquence, it is marked by no elegance or ornament, it is rude and offensive; always maimed, confused, and obscure. To this add a prompt volubility of tongue, and impudence not soon or easily abashed ; with a tone of voice, which, although I have heard, I shall find difficult to describe: it is by nature rustic and dissonant: it sometimes menaces with suffocation ; at others it is harsh, as if passed over a file. In the constant exercise of his unwearied sides, it knows no pause ; it beats the air, and wounds the ear; till broken, and as it were cut in two, it terminates in a scream. Cicero was of opinion that a harsh and rustic modulation is a manifest imperfection, notwithstanding there are who take pains to acquire it. But I never knew any one, Thrasybulus alone excepted, who having a tone of voice most remarkably offensive, did not either endeavour to avoid it altogether, or at least try to soften its effect by ingenious artifice or constant industry.

They who have seen the distortions of Thrasybulus derided him its pride and his support; lastly, from this our country (to its most affectionate citizens, alas! not always generous or just), all that can be conferred of honour or of gratitude."

bulus, sometimes to this side, sometimes to the other, are at a loss to imagine which will be favoured with his suffrage. Indeed the sentiment of Marius seems equally true and apposite with respect to him—That, to obtain eminence in the state, a man should never remember either injuries or kindness. Can he, however, be said ever to suffer from injury, whose zealous service every man in power can direct and command as he pleases? The interest therefore of Thrasybulus is secure, for he never knew what it was to blush. Tully observes, that he had known some who, not able to make themselves orators, had obtained proficiency in the knowledge of the laws. Very different motives impelled our Thrasybulus to this courtly, though perilous habit of life. That he should be constantly on the watch for new game is not at all wonderful; appetite sharpens the wit, and expands the genius. As long as he continued in his own country, he was confined to the lower courts, and esteemed, even by the vulgar, rude and uncouth as an orator, and a mere child in legal knowledge. What his powers of speech were able to effect, the judges hardly gave themselves time to consider; but even they allowed him the merit of clamorous perseverance. His good fortune, therefore, was not complete and perfect; for although he possessed the two great requisites of a pleader, confidence and noise, he did not succeed in his profession. Nevertheless, he who was deemed by his countrymen to rank only with Leguleius and Blatero—a mere hunter of syllables, and guardian

of forms—was by the fates designed to enter the lists of eloquence with men of the most refined and exquisite accomplishments.

From a life of drudgery he turned his attention to other habits, which is indeed frequently done by those who wish to escape calamity, or elude misfortune. He had read, we believe, that the ancient Germans inured the less tractable and more misshapen of their cattle to undergo the greatest labour, by the effect of constant exercise. This man, therefore, born to stoop beneath a servile yoke, took care to discover in his character the fortitude which deliberately defies all danger, and the patience which can acquiesce under the greatest difficulties. He conceived that his merit would not only be more conspicuous, but more splendid, if he openly confessed that no eye should ever discover, in his conduct, a reluctance to undertake measures of a difficult nature, or a fastidious delicacy with respect to those which appeared base, and were thought dishonourable. By being every thing with every body, he insinuated himself into the favour of the great. He then entered on senatorial duty; a situation full of care, and exposed to much mortification. His tongue was, if we may be allowed the expression, always in the water. He took a deliberate survey of the different advantages of peace—affluence—power—the public revenues—the army; and how the eventual result of each was likely to affect his own individual interest. He submitted to various difficulties, and bore very patiently a great deal of arrogance

from others, without any detriment to his own dignity ; in short, the wish of others was the rule of his conduct and his words.

Upon this unceasing and perhaps dishonourable labour he rested, as upon a solid basis ; and expanded himself far beyond the common limits of human glory. The labour of undertaking to convince and persuade those of elevated condition, his conduct has amply testified ; but to extol their good or their dishonest conduct with undeviating praise, he has shown to be his habit, his excellence, and his duty. He has never, therefore, condescended to palliate his conduct by any speciousness of apology ; he has declared openly and boldly, with Marcus Terentius, “ It is not for us to estimate the intrinsic virtues of him whom you have raised to glory, or the motives of your partiality ; to you the gods have given the perfection of judgment ; the glory of obedience must be ours *.”

Intoxicated with the favours of fortune, he openly enrolls his name amongst those of most distinguished excellence. He avows himself ever prepared to undertake and suffer every thing, provided he retains his station, and touches the golden reward. To such a degree of levity has he arrived, that he thinks he may bask in security under the shade of an illustrious name. In favour of his systematic scheme of life he quotes these words, which he utters aloud in the very spirit of Cicero, and whispers in secret to his friends—“ That if he does not constantly ex-

* Tacitus.

press himself in the same language, he has unalterably the same object in view*."

The man who pursues this line of conduct is no doubt satisfied with himself, that he does what is grateful to those with whom he is connected; that, when he unites opinions as contradictory as possible to each other, he still remains perfectly consistent with himself. It is the first, it is the dearest object of his heart, that the character he sustains should continue unchanged, from the commencement of any undertaking to its conclusion; that as circumstances alter, his sentiments should be suffered to alter along with them; and that a kind of consistency should be fixed to his most inconsistent actions.

What fortune can accomplish, whenever she chooses to wanton with bold and daring characters, Thrasybulus has seen and known. One principle is immutably rooted in his mind—that every man is indebted for his success to himself; and that many may enjoy uninterrupted prosperity by consulting the moments of opportunity, rather than the interests of the public. The words of Pompey are constantly in his mouth—not as a matter to be disputed, but as a golden rule of life—That “more people worship the rising than the setting sun †.”

He is conscious also of many qualities, in a manner peculiar to himself, which facilitates his advances to power and to wealth. Our Thrasybulus has no occasion for preceding and established fame, to prove whether any cause immediately before him is honourable to record, or

* Cic. Epist.

† Plutarch.

equitable to pursue. When he enters upon it he can possibly have nothing to lose ; if it terminate in dishonour, nought is expected from him to alleviate its infamy. With respect to his future hopes, he is perfectly secure. Fearing to give a wound even to the guilty, he gently relaxes the rigours of his eloquence ; and whatever he can detract from the resentment of others, he suffers with resignation to descend upon himself. This man's character alone will enable us to form a perfect idea of the generality of great men's friends. Upon such as these the minister, without reserve, depends. Surrounded by these, in contradiction to every rule of right, he has arrived at that summit after which his soul aspired. These, creeping from their hiding places, publicly attend him as companions. "Oh, sad reverse of morals and lost dignity of the senate *!" With so little equanimity does he bear success, that he has placed, with unabashed confidence, such men as these in the public senate of the nation, the supporters of his fame, and partners of his counsels.

Some messenger shall go from hence to fate,
And to his father his foul deeds relate †.

DR. PARR.

FRANCIS, DUKE OF BEDFORD.

IF the sad event which has recently occurred were only a private misfortune, however heavy, I should feel the impropriety of obtruding upon the house the feelings of private friendship, and

* Horat.

† Dryden's Virgll.

would have sought some other opportunity of expressing those sentiments of gratitude and affection which must ever be due from me to the memory of the excellent person whose loss gives occasion to the sort of motion of course which I am about to make to the house. It is because I consider the death of the Duke of Bedford as a great public calamity; because the public itself seems so to consider it; because not in this town only, but in every part of the kingdom, the impression made by it seems to be the strongest and most universal that ever appeared upon the loss of a subject: it is for these reasons that I presume to hope for the indulgence of the house, if I deviate, in some degree, from the common course; and introduce my motion in a manner which I must confess to be unusual on similar occasions. At the same time I trust, sir, that I shall not be suspected of any intention to abuse the indulgence which I ask, by dwelling with the fondness of friendship upon the various excellencies of the character to which I have alluded, much less by entering into a history of the several events of his life, which might serve to illustrate it. There was something in that character so peculiar and striking, and the just admiration which his virtues commanded was such, that to expatiate upon them in any detail is as unnecessary as upon this occasion it would be improper. That he has been much lamented, and generally, cannot be wondered at, for surely there never was a more just occasion of public sorrow. To lose such a man!—at such a time!—so unexpectedly! The particular stage of his life, too,

in which we lost him, must add to every feeling of regret, and make the disappointment more severe and poignant to all thinking minds. Had he fallen at an earlier period, the public, to whom he could then (comparatively speaking at least) be but little known, would rather have compassionated and condoled with the feelings of his friends and relations, than have been themselves very severely afflicted by the loss. It would have been suggested, and even we who were the most partial must have admitted, that the expectations raised by the dawn are not always realized in the meridian of life. If the fatal event had been postponed, the calamity might have been alleviated by the consideration that mankind could not have looked forward for any length of time to the exercise of his virtues and talents. But he was snatched away at a moment when society might have been expected to be long benefited by his benevolence, his energy, and his wisdom ; when he had obtained a full certainty that the progress of his life would be more than answerable to the brightest hopes conceived from its outset, and when it might have been reasonably hoped, that after having accomplished all the good of which it was capable, he would have descended, not immaturely, into the tomb. He had, on the one hand, lived long enough to have his character fully confirmed and established, while, on the other, what remained of life seemed, according to all human expectations, to afford ample space and scope for the exercise of the virtues of which his character was com-

posed. The tree was old enough to enable us to ascertain the quality of the fruit which it would bear, and, at the same time, young enough to promise many years of produce. The high rank and splendid fortune of the great man of whom I am speaking, though not circumstances which in themselves either can or ought to conciliate the regard and esteem of rational minds, are yet in so far considerable, as an elevated situation, by making him who is placed in it more powerful and conspicuous, causes his virtues or vices to be more useful or injurious to society. In this case, the rank and wealth of the person are to be attended to in another and a very different point of view. To appreciate his merits justly, we must consider not only the advantages but the disadvantages connected with such circumstances. The dangers attending prosperity in general, and high situations in particular; the corrupting influence of flattery, to which men in such situations are more peculiarly exposed, have been the theme of moralists in all ages and in all nations; but how are these dangers increased with respect to him who succeeds in his childhood to the first rank and fortune in a kingdom such as this, and who, having lost his parents, is never approached by any being who is not represented to him as in some degree his inferior? Unless blessed with a heart uncommonly susceptible and disposed to virtue, how should he, who has scarcely ever seen an equal, have a common feeling and a just sympathy for the rest of mankind, who seemed to have been formed rather *for* him, and as instru-

ments of his gratification, than together *with* him for the general purposes of nature. Justly has the Roman satirist remarked :—

Rarus enim fermè sensus communis in illâ
Fortunâ.

This was precisely the case of the Duke of Bedford ; nor do I know that his education was perfectly exempt from the defects usually belonging to such situations : but virtue found her own way, and on the very side where the danger was the greatest was her triumph most complete. From the blame of selfishness no man was ever so eminently free. No man put his own gratification so low, that of others so high, in his estimation. To contribute to the welfare of his fellow citizens was the constant, unremitted pursuit of his life, by his example and his beneficence to render them better, wiser, and happier. He truly loved the public, but not only the public, according to the usual acceptation of the word ; not merely the body corporate (if I may so express myself) which bears that name, but man in his individual capacity ; all who came within his notice and deserved his protection were objects of his general concern. From his station the sphere of his acquaintance was larger than that of most other men ; yet in this extended circle few, very few, could be counted to whom he had not found some occasion to be serviceable. To be useful, whether to the public at large, whether to his relations and nearer friends, or even to any individual of his species, was the ruling passion of his life.

He died, it is true, in a state of celibacy ; but if they may be called a man's children whose concerns are dear to him as his own—to protect whom from evil is the daily object of his care, to promote whose welfare he exerts every faculty of which he is possessed ; if such, I say, are to be esteemed our children, no man had ever a more numerous family than the Duke of Bedford.

Private friendships are not, I own, a fit topic for this house, or any public assembly ; but it is difficult for any one who had the honour and happiness to be his friend not to advert (when speaking of such a man) to his conduct and behaviour in that interesting character. In his friendship not only was he disinterested and sincere, but in him were to be united all the characteristic excellencies which have ever distinguished the men most renowned for that most amiable of all virtues. Some are warm, but volatile and inconstant ; he was warm too, but steady and unchangeable. Never once was he known to violate any of the duties of that sacred relation. Where his attachment was placed, there it remained, or, rather, there it grew ; for it may be more truly said of this man than of any other that ever existed, that if he loved you at the beginning of the year, and you did nothing to forfeit his esteem, he would love you still more at the end of it. Such was the uniformly progressive state of his affections, no less than of his virtues and his wisdom.

It has happened to many, and he was certainly one of the number, to grow wiser as they advanced in years. Some have even improved in virtue,

but it has generally been in that class of virtue only which consists in resisting the allurements of vice, and too often have these advantages been counterbalanced by the loss, or at least the diminution, of that openness of heart, that warmth of feeling, that readiness of sympathy, that generosity of spirit, which have been reckoned among the characteristic attributes of youth. In this case it is far otherwise: endued by nature with an unexampled firmness of character, he could bring his mind to a more complete state of discipline than any man I ever knew. But he had, at the same time, such a comprehensive and just view of all moral questions, that he well knew to distinguish between those inclinations which, if indulged, might prove beneficial to mankind. All bad propensities, therefore, if any such he had, he completely conquered and suppressed, while, on the other hand, no man ever studied the trade by which he was to get his bread, the profession by which he hoped to rise to wealth and honour, nor even the higher arts of poetry or eloquence, in pursuit of a fancied immortality, with more zeal and ardour than this excellent person cultivated the noble art of doing good to his fellow creatures. In this pursuit, above all others, diligence is sure of success; and, accordingly, it would be difficult to find an example of any other man to whom so many individuals are indebted for happiness or comfort, or to whom the public at large owe more essential obligations.

So far was he from slackening or growing cold in these generous pursuits, that the only danger was, lest, notwithstanding his admirable good

sense, and that remarkable soberness of character which distinguished him, his munificence might, if he had lived, have engaged him in expenses to which even his princely fortune would have been found inadequate. Thus the only circumstance like a failing in this great character was, that, while indulging his darling passion for making himself useful to others, he might be too regardless of future consequences to himself and family. The love of utility was indeed his darling, his ruling passion. Even in his recreations (and he was by no means naturally averse to such as were suitable to his station in life), no less than in his graver hours, he so much loved to keep this grand object in view, that he seemed, by degrees, to grow weary of every amusement which was not in some degree connected with it. Agriculture he judged rightly to be the most useful of all sciences, and, more particularly in the present state of affairs, he conceived it to be the department in which his services to his country might be most beneficial. To agriculture, therefore, he principally applied himself; nor can it be doubted but with his great capacity, activity, and energy, he must have attained his object, and made himself eminently useful in that most important branch of political economy. Of the particular degree of his merit in this respect, how much the public is already indebted to him—how much benefit it may still expect to derive from the effects of his unwearied diligence and splendid example, is a question upon which members of this house can form a much more accurate judgment than I can pretend to do. But of his

motive to these exertions I am competent to judge, and can affirm, without a doubt, that it was the same which actuated him throughout, an ardent desire to employ his faculties in the way, whatever it might be, in which he could most contribute to the good of his country and the general interests of mankind.

With regard to his politics, I feel a great unwillingness to be wholly silent on the subject; and at the same time much difficulty in treating it with propriety, when I consider to whom I am addressing myself: I am sensible that those principles upon which in any other place I should not hesitate to pronounce an unqualified eulogium may be thought by some, perhaps by the majority of this house, rather to stand in need of apology and exculpation than to form a proper subject for panegyric: but even in this view I may be allowed to offer a few words in favour of my departed friend. I believe few, if any of us, are so infatuated with the extreme notions of philosophy, as not to feel a partial veneration for the principles, some leaning even to the prejudices, of the ancestors, especially if they were of any note, from whom we are respectively descended. Such biases are always, as I suspect, favourable to the cause of patriotism and public virtue: I am sure, at least, that in Athens and Rome they were so considered. No man had ever less of family pride, in the bad sense, than the Duke of Bedford; but he had a great and just respect for his ancestors. Now, if upon the principle to which I have alluded, it was in Rome thought excusable in one of the Claudii to have, in con-

formity with the general manners of their race, something too much of an aristocratical pride and haughtiness, surely in this country it is not unpardonable in a Russell to be zealously attached to the rights of the subject, and peculiarly tenacious of the popular parts of our constitution. It is excusable, at least, in one who numbers among his ancestors the great Earl of Bedford, the patron of Pym, and the friend of Hampden ; not to be wondered at, if a descendant of Lord Russell should feel more than common horror for arbitrary power, and a quick, perhaps even a jealous, discernment of any approach or tendency in the system of government to that dreaded evil. But whatever may be our differences in regard to principles, I trust there is no member of this house who is not liberal enough to do justice to upright conduct even in a political adversary. Whatever, therefore, may be thought of those principles to which I have alluded, the political conduct of my much lamented friend must be allowed by all to have been manly, consistent, and sincere.

It now remains for me to touch upon the last melancholy scene in which this excellent man was to be exhibited : and to all those who admire his character, let it be some consolation that his exit was in every respect conformable to his past life. I have already noticed that prosperity could not corrupt him : he had now to undergo a trial of an opposite nature. But in every instance he was alike true to his character ; and in moments of extreme bodily pain and approaching dissolution, when it might be expected that a

man's every feeling would be concentrated in his personal sufferings—his every thought occupied by the awful event impending—even in these moments he put by all selfish considerations; kindness to his friends was the sentiment still uppermost in his mind, and he employed himself to the last hour of his life in making the most considerate arrangements for the happiness and comfort of those who were to survive him. While in the enjoyment of prosperity he had learned and practised all those milder virtues which adversity alone is supposed capable of teaching; and in the hour of pain and approaching death had the calmness and serenity which are thought to belong exclusively to health and of a mind at ease. If I have taken an unusual, and possibly an irregular, course upon this extraordinary occasion, I am confident the house will pardon me. They will forgive something, no doubt, to warmth of private friendship, to sentiments of gratitude, which I must feel, and, whenever I have an opportunity, must express, to the latest hour of my life. But the consideration of public utility, to which I have so much adverted as the ruling principle in the mind of my friend, will weigh far more with them. They will in their wisdom acknowledge, that to celebrate and perpetuate the memory of great and meritorious individuals, is, in effect, an essential service to the community. It was not, therefore, for the purpose of performing the pious office of friendship, by fondly strewing flowers upon his tomb, that I have drawn your attention to the Duke of Bedford: the motive that actuates me is one more suitable to what were his views. It is, that this great character

may be strongly impressed upon the minds of all who hear me ;—that they may see it—that they may feel it—that they may discourse of it to their children, and hold it up to the imitation of posterity. If he could now be sensible to what passes here below, sure I am, that nothing could give him so much satisfaction as to find that we are endeavouring to make his memory and example, as he took care his life should be, useful to mankind.

I will conclude with applying to the present occasion a beautiful passage from the speech of a very young orator *. It may be thought, perhaps, to savour too much of the sanguine views of youth to stand the test of a rigid philosophical inquiry : but it is at least cheering and consolatory, and that in this instance it may be exemplified is, I am confident, the sincere wish of every man who hears me :—“ CRIME,” says he, “ is a curse only to the period in which it is successful ; but VIRTUE, whether fortunate or otherwise, blesses not only its own age, but remotest posterity, and is as beneficial by its example as by its immediate effects.”

RT. HON. C. J. FOX.

THE VENERABLE BEDE.

THE great and justest boast of this monastery (Lindisfarm) is the venerable Beda, who was educated and spent his whole life there. An account of his writings is an account of the Eng-

* Essay on the progressive Improvement of Mankind; an oration delivered in the chapel of Trinity College, Cambridge, December 17, 1798, by the Honourable William Lamb.

lish learning in that age, taken in its most advantageous view. Many of his works remain, and he wrote both in prose and verse, and upon all sorts of subjects. His theology forms the most considerable part of his writings. He wrote comments upon almost the whole Scripture, and several Homilies on the principal festivals of the church. Both the comments and sermons are generally allegorical in the construction of the text, and simply moral in the application. In these discourses several things seem strained and fanciful; but herein he followed entirely the manner of the earlier fathers, from whom the greatest part of his divinity is not so much imitated as extracted. The systematic and logical method, which seems to have been first introduced into theology by John of Damascus, and which was afterwards known by the name of school divinity, was not then in use, at least in the Western Church; though soon after it made an amazing progress. In this scheme the allegorical gave way to the literal explication; the imagination had less scope; and the affections were less touched. But it prevailed by an appearance more solid and philosophical; by an order more scientific; and by a readiness of application, either for the solution or the exciting of doubts and difficulties.

They also cultivated in this monastery the study of natural philosophy and astronomy. There remains of Beda one entire book, and some scattered essays on these subjects. This book, *de Rerum Naturâ*, is concise and methodical, and contains no very contemptible abstract of the

physics which were taught in the decline of the Roman empire. It was somewhat unfortunate that the infancy of English learning was supported by the dotage of the Roman, and that even the spring head whence they drew their instructions was itself corrupted. However, the works of the great masters of the ancient science still remained; but in natural philosophy the worst was the most fashionable. The Epicurean physics, the most approaching to rational, had long lost all credit, by being made the support of an impious theology and a loose morality. The fine visions of Plato fell into some discredit, by the abuse which heretics had made of them; and the writings of Aristotle seem to have been then the only ones much regarded, even in natural philosophy, in which branch of science alone they are unworthy of him. Beda entirely follows his system. The appearances of Nature are explained by matter and form, and by the four vulgar elements; acted upon by the four supposed qualities of hot, dry, moist, and cold. His astronomy is on the common system of the ancients; sufficient for the few purposes to which they applied it; but otherwise imperfect and grossly erroneous. He makes the moon larger than the earth; though a reflection on the nature of eclipses, which he understood, might have satisfied him of the contrary. But he had so much to copy that he had little time to examine. These speculations, however erroneous, were still useful; for though men err in assigning the causes of natural operations, the works of nature are by this means brought under their consideration; which cannot be done without

enlarging the mind. The science may be false, or frivolous ; the improvement will be real. It may be here remarked, that soon afterwards the monks began to apply themselves to astronomy and chronology, from the disputes which were carried on with so much heat, and so little effect, concerning the proper time of celebrating Easter ; and the English owed the cultivation of these noble sciences to one of the most trivial controversies of ecclesiastic discipline. Beda did not confine his attention to those superior sciences. He treated of music, of rhetoric, of grammar, and the art of versification, and of arithmetic, both by letters and on the fingers : and his work on this last subject is the only one in which that antique piece of curiosity has been preserved to us. All these are short pieces ; some of them are in the catechetical method, and seemed designed for the immediate use of the pupils in his monastery, in order to furnish them with some leading ideas in the rudiments of these arts, then newly introduced into this country. He likewise made, and probably for the same purpose, a very ample and valuable collection of short philosophical, political, and moral maxims from Aristotle, Plato, Seneca, and other sages of heathen antiquity. He made a separate book of shining common-places and remarkable passages, extracted from the works of Cicero ; of whom he was a great admirer, though he seems not to have been a happy or diligent imitator of his style. From a view of these pieces we may form an idea of what stock in the sciences the English at that time possessed ; and what advances they had

made. That work of Beda, which is the best known and most esteemed, is the Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation. Disgraced by a want of choice, and frequently by a confused ill disposition of his matter, and blemished with a degree of credulity next to infantine, it is still a valuable, and for the time a surprising, performance. The book opens with a description of this island, which would not have disgraced a classical author; and he has prefixed to it a chronological abridgment of sacred and profane history, connected from the beginning of the world; which, though not critically adapted to his main design, is of far more intrinsic value, and indeed displays a vast fund of historical erudition. On the whole, though this father of the English learning seems to have been but a genius of the middle class, neither elevated nor subtil, and one who wrote in a low style, simple, but not elegant, yet when we reflect upon the time in which he lived, the place in which he spent his whole life, within the walls of a monastery, in so remote and wild a country, it is impossible to refuse him the praise of an incredible industry, and a generous thirst of knowledge.

That a nation who, not fifty years before, had but just begun to emerge from a barbarism so perfect, that they were unfurnished even with an alphabet, should, in so short a time, have established so flourishing a seminary of learning, and have produced so eminent a teacher, is a circumstance which I imagine no other nation besides England can boast.

BURKE.

SHAKSPEARE.

HE was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the images of nature were still present to him, and he drew them not laboriously, but luckily : when he describes anything, you more than see it, you feel it too. Those who accuse him to have wanted learning give him the greater commendation : he was naturally learned ; he needed not the spectacles of books to read nature ; he looked inwards, and found her there. I cannot say he is every where alike ; were he so, I should do him injury to compare him with the greatest of mankind. He is many times flat, insipid ; his comic wit degenerating into clenches, his serious swelling into bombast. But he is always great, when some great occasion is presented to him ; no man can say he ever had a fit subject for his wit, and did not then raise himself as high above the rest of the poets,—

Quantum lenta solent inter viburna capitis. —

The consideration of this made Mr. Hales, of Eton, say, that there was no subject of which any poet ever writ, but he would produce it much better done in Shakspeare. DRYDEN.

* * * *

If ever any author deserved the name of an original, it was Shakspeare : Homer himself drew not his art so immediately from the fountains of nature ; it proceeded through Egyptian

strainers and channels, and came to him not without some tincture of the learning, or some cast of the models of those before him. The poetry of Shakspeare was inspiration indeed: he is not so much an imitator as an instrument of nature; and it is not so just to say that he speaks from her, as that she speaks through him.

His characters are so much nature herself, that it is a sort of injury to call them by so distant a name as copies of her. Those of other poets have a constant resemblance, which shows that they received them from one another, and were but multipliers of the same image; each picture, like a mock rainbow, is but the reflexion of a reflexion. But every single character in Shakspeare is as much an individual, as those in life itself; it is as impossible to find any two alike; and such as from their relation and affinity in any respect appear most to be twins, will, upon comparison, be found remarkably distinct. To this life and variety of character, we must add the wonderful preservation of it; which is such throughout his plays, that had all the speeches been printed without the very names of the persons, I believe one might have applied them with certainty to every speaker.

The power over our passions was never possessed in a more eminent degree, or displayed in so different instances. Yet all along, there is seen no labour, no pains to raise them; no preparation to guide or guess to the effect, or be perceived to lead toward it: but the heart swells, and the tears burst out, just at the proper places:

we are surprised the moment we weep ; and yet upon reflection, find the passion so just, that we should be surprised if we had not wept, and wept at that very moment.

How astonishing is it again, that the passions directly opposite to these, laughter and spleen, are no less at his command ; that he is not more a master of the great than the ridiculous in human nature ; of our noblest tendernesses, than of our vainest foibles ; of our strongest emotions, than of our idlest sensations !

Nor does he only excel in the passions : in the coolness of reflection and reasoning he is full as admirable. His sentiments are not only in general the most pertinent and judicious upon every subject, but by a talent very peculiar, something between penetration and felicity, he hits upon that particular point on which the bent of each argument turns, or the force of each motive depends. This is perfectly amazing, from a man of no education or experience in those great and public scenes of life which are usually the subject of his thoughts, so that he seemed to have known the world by intuition, to have looked through human nature at one glance, and to be the only author that gives ground for a very new opinion, That the philosopher, and even the man of the world, may be *born*, as well as the poet.

It must be owned, that with all these great excellencies, he has almost as great defects ; and that as he has certainly written better, so he has perhaps written worse, than any other. But I think I can in some measure account for these defects, from several causes and accidents ; with-

out which it is hard to imagine that so large and so enlightened a mind could ever have been susceptible of them. That all these contingencies should unite to his disadvantage seems to me almost as singularly unlucky, as that so many various (nay, contrary) talents should meet in one man, was happy and extraordinary. POPE.

* * * *

When the hand of time shall have brushed off his editors and commentators, and when the very name of Voltaire, and even the memory of the language in which he has written, shall be no more, the Apalachian mountains, the banks of the Ohio, and the plains of Sciota shall resound with the accents of this barbarian : in his native tongue he shall roll the genuine passions of nature ; nor shall the griefs of Lear be alleviated, or the charms and wit of Rosalind be abated by time. There is indeed nothing perishable about him, except that very learning which he is said so much to want. He had not, it is true, enough for the demands of the age in which he lived, but he had perhaps too much for the reach of his genius, and the interest of his fame. Milton and he will carry the decayed remnants and fripperies of ancient mythology into more distant ages than they are by their own force entitled to extend to ; and the Metamorphoses of Ovid, upheld by them, lay in a new claim to unmerited immortality.

Shakspeare is a name so interesting, that it is excusable to stop a moment, nay, it would be indecent to pass him without the tribute of some

admiration. He differs essentially from all other writers : him we may profess rather to feel than to understand ; and it is safer to say, on many occasions, that we are possessed by him, than that we possess him : and no wonder ;—he scatters the seeds of things, the principles of character and action, with so cunning a hand, and yet with so careless an air, and, master of our feelings, submits himself so little to our judgment, that every thing seems superior. We discern not his course, we see no connexion of cause and effect, we are wrapt in ignorant admiration, and claim no kindred with his abilities. All the incidents, all the parts, look like chance, whilst we feel and are sensible that the whole is design. His characters not only act in strict conformity to nature, but in strict relation to us ; just so much is shown as is requisite ; just so much is impressed ; he commands every passage to our heads and to our hearts, and moulds us as he pleases, and that with so much ease, that he never betrays his own exertions. We see these characters act from the mingled motives of passion, reason, interest, habit, and complexion, in all their proportions, when they are supposed to know it not themselves ; and we are made to acknowledge that their actions and sentiments are, from these motives, the necessary result. He at once blends and distinguishes every thing ;—every thing is complicated, every thing is plain. I restrain the further expressions of my admiration, lest they should not seem applicable to man ; but it is really astonishing that a mere human being, a part of humanity only, should so perfectly com-

prehend the whole ; and that he should possess such exquisite art, that whilst every child shall feel the whole effect, his learned editors and commentators should yet so very frequently mistake or seem ignorant of the cause. A sceptre or a straw are in his hands of equal efficacy ; he needs no selection ; he converts every thing into excellence ; nothing is too great, nothing is too base. Is a character efficient like Richard, it is every thing we can wish : is it otherwise, like Hamlet, it is productive of equal admiration : action produces one mode of excellence and inaction another : the chronicle, the novel, or the ballad ; the king or the beggar, the hero or the madman, the sot or the fool ; it is all one ;—nothing is worse, nothing is better. The same genius pervades and is equally admirable in all. Or, is a character to be shown in progressive change, and the events of years comprised within the hour,—with what a magic hand does he prepare and scatter his spells ! The understanding must, in the first place, be subdued ; and lo ! how the rooted prejudices of the child spring up to confound the man ! The weird sisters rise, and order is extinguished. The laws of nature give way, and leave nothing in our minds but wildness and horror. No pause is allowed us for reflection : horrid sentiment, furious guilt and compunction, air-drawn daggers, murders, ghosts, and enchantment shake and possess us wholly. In the mean time the process is completed. Macbeth changes under our eye, the milk of human kindness is converted into gall ; he has supped full of horrors and his May of life is fallen into the sear, th

yellow leaf; whilst we, the fools of amazement, are insensible to the shifting of place and the lapse of time, and till the curtain drops never once wake to the truth of things, or recognise the laws of existence.—On such an occasion, a fellow like Rymer, waking from his trance, shall lift up his constable's staff, and charge this great magician, this daring practiser of arts prohibited, in the name of Aristotle to surrender; whilst Aristotle himself, disowning his wretched officer, would fall prostrate at his feet and acknowledge his supremacy.

MORRIS.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

THIS year, so afflicting to Mary, was the last in the life of Buchanan; and his ability, his virtues, and his demerits are too conspicuous to be passed without notice. Afflicted with the stone, and pressed down with the infirmities of old age, he felt the approaches of his dissolution, and prepared for it like a philosopher: he resigned his employments, and tired of the living, waited with resignation for the moment that was to number him with the dead. At Edinburgh, in the seventy-seventh year of his existence, on the twenty-eighth day of September, a little past five o'clock in the morning, his spirit took its flight. The envy that attends on eminence, and the bitterness that fill the heart of an enemy, are commonly extinguished when their object is removed. But Buchanan was pursued with reproaches while in his grave. Many writers have described him as a monster

of impiety, as habitually besotted with wine, and as deluded with women. It is impossible to give any credit to the vileness of calumny ; and it were equally vain to yield without reserve to the heated admiration of panegyrists. Sir James Melvil, whose political sentiments were different from his, has done him the justice to declare, that he died a sincere member of the reformed church. In passing from the errors of popery, he discovered not, indeed, the flaming zeal of a convert ; and his moderation was the effect of his wisdom. A superstitious grimace was no part of his character ; and to a person of his uncommon endowments it would be an error to impute the most scrupulous adherence to every tenet in any popular faith. His life was liberal, like his opinions. From the uncertain condition of his fortune, or from his attachment to study, he kept himself free from the restraint of marriage ; but if a judgment may be formed from the vivacity of his temper and the wantonness of his verses, he was no enemy to beauty and to love, and must have known the tumults and the languor of voluptuousness. Violent in his nature, he embraced his friend with ardour, and indulged in the play of social affections. Proud of mental superiority, he was prone to treat with contempt men of high rank, whose chief recommendation was their birth or their riches. Against his enemies he was animated with an atrocity of revenge ; a malignant keenness glanced in his eye ; and the persecutions of priests and the oppressions of misfortune served to augment the natural fretfulness of his disposition, and gave an edge to his spleen. His conversation was gay, ingenious, and satirical.

When he was possessed of wealth there were no bounds to his prodigality ; when in want, he submitted to little arts to procure the means of expense ; and being careless of the future, he made no provision for the season of dotage and helplessness. His money and his life terminated in the same moment. He was rather low in stature ; of his dress he was negligent ; and his external appearance bore no marks of the cultivation of his taste. Yet in the slavish occupations of a pedagogue, in which he passed the better part of his days, he had contracted no pedantic impertinence. No meanness of situation could destroy the greatness of his mind. He passed with propriety from the school to the cabinet, and felt himself alike a scholar and a courtier. In poetry he was deemed unrivalled by his contemporaries. He is more nervous, more various, more elegant than the Italian poets. He has imitated those of Rome with greater grace and purity. His Psalms, in which he has employed so many kinds of verse, display admirably the extent and universality of his mind, the quickness and abundance of his fancy, and the power and acuteness of his judgment. In history he has contended with Livy and Sallust. The chequered scenes of his life had given him a wide experience of the world, and he was naturally of a thoughtful disposition. He treats accordingly the transactions of men with great prudence and discernment. In the precision and exactness of his narration he is not equally successful. Minute facts too often escape his attention ; and important ones do not always receive from him that niceness

of examination, and that fulness of detail, which they merit. Of ornament he is more studious than of truth ; and the fables which disgrace the earlier portions of his history are not more disgusting than the partiality with which he records the events of his own times. A love of liberty, and a respect for the best interests of mankind, pervade and illustrate his work ; but his admiration of tyrannicide, and his contempt of royalty, betray a propensity to licentiousness and faction. His learning is admirable ; his penetration better than his learning. The vigour of his mind, the interest of his manner, the dignity of his narration, the deepness of his remark, the purity of his diction, are all conspicuous. But while his genius and ability adorned the times in which he lived, and must draw to him the admiration of the most distant posterity, it is not to be forgotten that his political conduct was disgraceful in the greatest degree, and must excite its regrets and provoke its indignation. His zeal for the Earl of Murray overturned altogether his allegiance as a subject, and his integrity as a man. His activity against Mary in the conferences in England was in a strain of the most shameless corruption ; and the virulence with which he endeavoured to defame her by his writings, was most audacious and criminal. They involve the complicated charge of ingratitude, rebellion, and perjury. That he repented of his political transactions, and of his malignity to Mary, has indeed been affirmed with great probability ; but no decisive vouchers of his sorrow have been recorded ; and in the short *Memoir* he left of himself, he has avoided all

mention of it. A dark cloud was gathering around him, when an opportune death afforded him a peaceful retreat from the anxieties and the cares of a world, with which his infirmities and his age had disgusted him.

GILBERT STUART.

MR. W. CHILLINGWORTH.

WHILE Charles the First governed England, and was himself governed by a Catholic queen, it cannot be denied that the missionaries of Rome laboured with impunity and success in the court, the country, and even the universities. One of the sheep,

—Whom the grim wolf, with privy paw,
Daily devours apace, and nothing said,

is Mr. William Chillingworth, Master of Arts, and Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford; who, at the ripe age of twenty-eight years, was persuaded to elope from Oxford, to the English seminary at Douay, in Flanders. Some disputes with Fisher, a subtle jesuit, might first awaken him from the prejudices of education; but he yielded to his own victorious argument, “that there must be somewhere an infallible judge; and that the church of Rome is the only Christian society which either does or can pretend to that character.” After a short trial of a few months, Mr. Chillingworth was again tormented by religious scruples: he returned home, resumed his studies, unravelled his mistakes, and delivered his mind

from the yoke of authority and superstition. His new creed was built on the principle, that the Bible is our sole judge, and private reason our sole interpreter: and he ably maintains this principle in the Religion of a Protestant, a book which, after startling the doctors of Oxford, is still esteemed the most solid defence of the Reformation. The learning, the virtue, the recent merits of the author, entitled him to fair preferment: but the slave had now broken his fetters; and the more he weighed, the less was he disposed to subscribe to the thirty-nine articles of the church of England. In a private letter he declares, with all the energy of language, that he could not subscribe to them without subscribing his own damnation; and that if ever he should depart from this immovable resolution, he would allow his friends to think him a madman or an atheist. As the letter is without a date, we cannot ascertain the number of weeks or months that elapsed between this passionate abhorrence and the Salisbury Register, which is still extant. “*Ego Gulielmus Chillingworth, . . . omnibus hisce articulis, . . . et singulis in iisdem contentis, volens et ex animo subscribo, et consensum meum iisdem præbeo. 20 die Julii, 1638.*” But, alas! the chancellor and prebendary of Sarum soon deviated from his own subscription: as he more deeply scrutinized the article of the Trinity, neither Scripture nor the primitive fathers could long uphold his orthodox belief; and he could not but confess, “that the doctrine of Arius is either a truth, or at least no damnable heresy.” From this middle region of the air, the descent of

his reason would naturally rest on the firmer ground of the Socinians : and if we may credit a doubtful story, and the popular opinion, his anxious inquiries at last subsided in philosophic indifference. So conspicuous, however, were the candour of his nature and the innocence of his heart, that this apparent levity did not affect the reputation of Chillingworth. His frequent changes proceeded from too nice an inquisition into truth. His doubts grew out of himself ; he assisted them with all the strength of his reason : he was then too hard for himself ; but finding as little quiet and repose in those victories, he quickly recovered by a new appeal to his own judgment : so that in all his sallies and retreats, he was in fact his own convert.

GIBBON.

THE HON. ALGERNON GREVILLE*.

THE whole life of this noble person was a more serious preparation for death than most men's dying thoughts.

He well knew that the nobility of his extraction would be no excuse to him from the peremptory summons of death ; neither did he make it any excuse to him from an industrious and strict preparation for it. This he testified by the series of his whole life ; in which there evidently appeared such an awe of God, and a real sense of true piety and religion, as clearly evinced that he had strong and habituated meditations of that great leveling day, wherein the highest shall stand upon no higher ground than the meanest.

* He died young, in 1662.

He did not think religion any stain to his honour, nor minding heaven to be the employment of those only who have nothing on earth.

Indeed, irreligion and atheism are now reckoned as a piece of good breeding among the great ones of the world ; it is now counted as a sign of a degenerous and low sunk spirit to acknowledge even God himself for their superior. Those are cried up as the wits of the time, who can daringly dispute it against whatsoever is sacred in Christianity ; yea, against the being of God himself. It is now become an argument of a judicious and gallant mind, to call into question the most fundamental maxims of our faith ; and the authority too of those holy oracles which confirm them. Reason alone is extolled as the best and most sufficient guide, both in matters of belief and of practice ; and they appeal to that for their judge which commonly, by their debauches and intemperances, they either so corrupt that it will not discern the truth, or else so sot and stupify that it cannot. And, thus, as the moon shines brightest when it is at the greatest opposition to the sun, these think their reason then shines brightest, when it stands at the greatest opposition to God.

This noble person, whose reason had as fleet a wing, and could soar as high a pitch as any of theirs who pretend to nothing above it, yet saw it reason to give his faith the precedence, and always found more acquiescence in a *Thus saith the Lord*, than in the most critical researches, and positive conclusions of his reason. So reverend an esteem had he for those sacred dictates of Scripture, that, though his wit and parts shone

forth to admiration in whatsoever he pleased to employ them about, yet he never presumed to exercise them on that common-place of abusing divine verities: he was not ambitious to commence a wit by blasphemy; nor did he pretend ingenuity by being impious. But, whereas too many use their wit in jesting at them, he showed his early wisdom in believing and obeying. Other books he made the ornament of his mind: this, the guide of his life. He knew what others said, but did what God spake.

He was not made a Christian out of old heathens; nor owed his virtues to the sage precepts of Plutarch or Epictetus: these are now become the penmen and evangelists of our young gentry: Seneca is with them preferred before St. Paul, though his chief credit be that he wrote so well that some have mistakingly thought him St. Paul's disciple. The virtue of this noble person acknowledge a more divine original; being formed in him by the same spirit that gave him rules to act it. This taught him to outstrip, in true wisdom, temperance, and fortitude, not only whatsoever those starched moralists did, but whatsoever they wrote; and, whereas they prescribed but the exercise of virtue, he sublimed it, and made it grace.

Next to his absolute subjection to God, was his obedience unto his honourable, and now disconsolate mother: wherein he was to such a degree punctual, that, as her wisdom commanded nothing but what was fit, so his duty disputed not the fitness of things beyond her command. His demeanour towards her was most submissive: and

towards all so obliging that it was but the same thing to know and admire him.

His converse gave the world a singular pattern of harmless and inoffensive mirth ; of a gentility, not made up of fine clothes and hypocritical courtship ; a sweetness and familiarity that, at once, gained love and preserved respect, a grandeur and nobility, safe in its own worth, nor needing to maintain itself by a jealous and morose distance.

Never did vice, in youth, find a more confirmed goodness : so impregnable was he against the temptations which gain an easy access to those of his rank and quality, that they could neither insinuate into him by their allurements, nor force him by their importunities.

Nor did he think it enough to secure his mind from the infection of vice, unless also he secured his fame from the suspicion of it. Some, indeed, owe their innocence to their dulness and stupidity ; and are only not vicious, because not witty enough to be takingly and handsomely wicked. His virtue was of choice ; and the severest exercise of it mingled with such charms from his parts and ingenuity, that his very seriousness was more alluring than those light diversions in others, which entice only because they please.

His apprehension was quick and piercing, his memory faithful and retentive, his fancy sprightly and active ; and his judgment overruling them all, neither prejudiced by vulgar opinions nor easily cozened by varnished and plausible errors.

After all this, there can be nothing wanting to

make up a most complete and absolute person, but only industry to quicken his parts, and time to ripen both to perfection.

His industry was remarkable, in the assiduousness of his studies : where he spent not his hours in plays or romances, those follies of good wits ; but in the disquisition of solid and masculine knowledge, in which he outstripped even those who were to depend upon learning for their livelihood, and had no other revenue than what arose out of their fruitful and well cultivated brains.

And, as for that other, I mean time, to mature these growing hopes, Providence hath denied it ; by a sudden and surprising stroke cutting off his days, and thereby rendering that virtue, those parts, that industry, useless to us in anything but the example, and I should say unprofitable to him too, but only that which he never had opportunity to employ in this world, hath, I doubt not, fitted him for a better.

BISHOP HOPKINS.

ARCBISHOP TILLOTSON.

As to the archbishop, he was certainly a virtuous, pious, humane, and moderate man ; which last quality was a kind of rarity in those times. His notions of civil society were but confused and imperfect, as appears in the affair of Lord Russel. As to religion, he was amongst the class of latitudinarian divines. I admire his preserving his moderation in all times, more than his refusing the archbishopric at the time of his decay, and

after a stroke of an apoplexy, and when he had the large revenue of the deanery of St. Paul's, and when the archiepiscopal promotion, he knew, would expose him to infinite abuse. But what I admire most was, his beneficence and generosity, and contempt of wealth. But see the imperfection of humanity. That moderation, coolness, and prudence (which you guessed right, is held in the highest admiration by the person you wot of—Tillotson is indeed his hero); this turn, I say, which made him so placable an enemy, made him but a cold or indifferent friend; as you may see, in part, by that exceeding simple narrative of Beardmore (I use simple in the best sense), for so imperfect are we, as I say, that the human mind can with difficulty have that warmth of friendship kindled in it (which, after all, is what makes a two legged animal deserve the name of man), but the same heat will prove noxious to others. So that you see, if Tillotson was defective in this, I lay the blame not upon him, but upon corrupt humanity. As a preacher, I suppose his established fame is chiefly owing to his being the first city divine who talked rationally and wrote purely. I think the sermons published in his lifetime are fine moral discourses. They bear, indeed, the character of their author, simple, elegant, candid, clear, and rational. No orator, in the Greek and Roman sense of the word, like Taylor; nor a discourser in their sense, like Barrow; free from their irregularities, but not able to reach their heights. On which account I prefer them infinitely to him. You cannot sleep with Taylor; you cannot forbear thinking with

Barrow; but you may be much at your ease in the midst of a long lecture from Tillotson; clear, and rational, and equable as he is. Perhaps the last quality may account for it.

WARBURTON.

MR. WILLIAM LAW.

A LIFE of devotion and celibacy was the choice of my aunt, Mrs. Hester Gibbon, who, at the age of eighty-five, still resides in a hermitage at Cliffe, in Northamptonshire; having long survived her spiritual guide and faithful companion, Mr. William Law, who, at an advanced age, about the year 1761, died in her house. In our family he had left the reputation of a worthy and pious man, who believed all that he professed, and practised all that he enjoined. The character of a nonjuror, which he maintained to the last, is a sufficient evidence of his principles in church and state; and the sacrifice of interest to conscience will always be respectable. His theological writings, which our domestic connexion has tempted me to peruse, preserve an imperfect sort of life, and I can pronounce with more confidence and knowledge on the merits of the author. His last compositions are darkly tinctured by the incomprehensible visions of Jacob Behmen; and his discourse on the absolute unlawfulness of stage entertainments is sometimes quoted for a ridiculous intemperance of sentiment and language:—"The actors and spectators must all be damned: the playhouse is the porch of hell, the

place of the devil's abode, where he holds his filthy court of evil spirits: a play is the devil's triumph, a sacrifice performed to his glory, as much as in the heathen temples of Bacchus and Venus," &c. &c. But these sallies of religious frenzy must not extinguish the praise which is due to Mr. William Law as a wit and a scholar. His argument on topics of less absurdity is specious and acute, his manner is lively, his style forcible and clear; and, had not his vigorous mind been clouded by enthusiasm, he might be ranked with the most agreeable and ingenious writers of the times. While the Bangorian controversy was a fashionable theme, he entered the lists on the subjects of Christ's kingdom, and the authority of the priesthood: against the plain account of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, he resumed the combat with Bishop Hoadley, the object of Whig idolatry and Tory abhorrence; and at every weapon of attack and defence the nonjuror, on the ground which is common to both, approves himself at least equal to the prelate. On the appearance of the Fable of the Bees, he drew his pen against the licentious doctrine that private vices are public benefits, and morality as well as religion must join in his applause. Mr. Law's master work, the *Serious Call*, is still read as a popular and powerful book of devotion. His precepts are rigid, but they are founded on the gospel: his satire is sharp, but it is drawn from the knowledge of human life; and many of his portraits are not unworthy of the pen of La Bruyère. If he finds a spark of piety in his reader's mind, he will soon kindle

it to a flame ; and a philosopher must allow that he exposes, with equal severity and truth, the strange contradiction between the faith and practice of the Christian world. Under the names of Flavia and Miranda he has admirably described my two aunts—the Heathen and the Christian sister.

GIBBON.

DR. WARBURTON.

THE bishop of Gloucester, amidst all his fooleries in criticism, and all his outrages in controversy, certainly united most vigorous and comprehensive intellect, with an open and a generous heart. As a friend, he was, what your lordship * experienced, zealous and constant ; and, as an enemy, he properly describes himself to have been choleric, but not implacable. He, my lord, threw a cloud over no man's brighter prospects of prosperity or honour, by dark and portentous whispers in the ears of the powerful. He, in private company, blasted no man's good name, by shedding over it the cold and deadly mildews of insinuation. He was too magnanimous to undermine when his duty or his humour prompted him to overthrow. He was too sincere to disguise the natural haughtiness and irritability of his temper, under the specious veil of humility and meekness. He never thought it expedient to save appearances, by shaking off the “ shackles of consistency,”—to soften the hideous aspect of certain uncourtly opinions, by a calm and progressive

* This is addressed to Dr. Hurd, bishop of Worcester.

apostacy,—to expiate the artless and animated effusions of his youth, by the example of temporizing an obsequious old age.

He began not his course, as others have done, with speculative republicanism ; nor did he end it, as some persons are now doing, with practical Toryism. He was a churchman without bigotry ; he was a politician without duplicity ; he was a loyalist without servility.

DR. PARR.

DR. JORTIN.

As to Jortin, whether I look back to his verse, to his prose, to his critical, or to his theological works, there are few authors to whom I am so much indebted for rational entertainment, or for solid instruction. Learned he was, without pedantry : he was ingenious without the affectation of singularity : he was a lover of truth, without hovering over the gloomy abyss of scepticism ; and a friend to free inquiry, without roving into the dreary and pathless wilds of latitudinarianism. He had a heart which never disgraced the powers of his understanding. With a lively imagination, an elegant taste, and a judgment most masculine and most correct, he united the artless and amiable negligence of a schoolboy. Wit without ill nature, and sense without effort, he could, at will, scatter upon every subject ; and in every book the writer presents us with a near and distinct view of the real man.

— ut omnis
Votivā pateat tanquam descripta tabellā
Vita senis.— Hor. Sat. i. Lib. 2.

His style, though artificial, is sometimes elevated ; though familiar, it is never mean ; and though employed upon various topics of theology, ethics, and criticism, it is not arrayed in any delusive resemblance, either of solemnity from fanatical cant, of profoundness from scholastic jargon, or precision from the crabbed formalities of clouded philologists, or of refinement from the technical babble of frivolous connoisseurs.

At the shadowy and fleeting reputation which is sometimes gained by the petty frolics of literary vanity, or the mischievous struggles of controversial rage, Jortin never grasped. Truth, which some men are ambitious of seizing by surprise in the trackless and dark recess, he was content to overtake in the broad and beaten path ; and in the pursuit of it, if he does not excite our astonishment by the rapidity of his strides, he, at least, secures our confidence by the firmness of his step. To the examination of positions advanced by other men, he always brought a mind, which neither prepossession had seduced, nor malevolence polluted. He imposed not his own conjectures as infallible and irresistible truths, nor endeavoured to give an air of importance to trifles by dogmatical vehemence. He could support his more serious opinions without the versatility of a sophist, the fierceness of a disputant, or the impertinence of a buffoon : more than this—he could relinquish or correct them with the calm and steady dignity of a writer, who, while he yielded something to the arguments of his antagonists, was conscious of retaining enough to command their respect. He had too much discernment to

confound difference of opinion with malignity or dulness, and too much candour to insult where he could not persuade. Though his sensibilities were neither coarse nor sluggish, he yet was exempt from those fickle humours, those rankling jealousies, and that restless waywardness which men of the brightest talents are too prone to indulge. He carried with him, into every station in which he was placed, and every subject which he explored, a solid greatness of soul, which could spare an inferior, though in the offensive form of an adversary, and endure an equal with or without the sacred name of friend. The importance of commendation, as well to him who bestows as to him who claims it, he estimated not only with justice, but with delicacy; and therefore he neither wantonly lavished it, nor withheld it austereley. But invective, he neither provoked nor feared; and as to the severities of contempt, he reserved them for occasions where alone they could be employed with propriety, and where by himself they always were employed with effect—for the chastisement of arrogant dunces, of censorious sciolists, of intolerant bigots in every sect, and unprincipled impostors in every profession. Distinguished in various forms of literary composition, engaged in various duties of his ecclesiastical profession, and blessed with a long and honourable life, he nobly exemplified that rare and illustrious virtue of charity which Leland thus eloquently describes:—“ Charity never misrepresents; never ascribes obnoxious principles or mistaken opinions to an opponent, which he himself disavows; is not so earnest in

refuting, as to fancy positions never asserted ; and to extend its censure to opinions, which will *perhaps* be delivered. Charity is utterly averse to sneering, the most despicable species of ridicule, that most despicable subterfuge of an impotent objector. Charity never supposes that all sense and knowledge are confined to a particular circle, to a district, or to a country. Charity never condemns and embraces principles in the same breath ; never *professes* to confute what it *acknowledges* to be just ; never presumes to bear down an adversary with confident assertions. Charity does not call dissent insolence, or the want of implicit submission a want of common respect."

DR. PARR.

DR. LELAND.



OF Leland my opinion is not, like the Letter-writer's, founded upon hearsay evidence, nor is it determined solely by the great authority of Dr. Johnson, who always mentioned Dr. Leland with cordial regard and with marked respect. It might, perhaps, be invidious in me to hazard a favourable decision upon his History of Ireland, because the merits of that work have been disputed by critics ; some of whom are, I think, warped in their judgments by literary, others by national, and more, I have reason to believe, by personal prejudices. But I may with confidence appeal to writings, which have long contributed to public amusement, and have often been honoured by public approbation ; to the Life of

Philip, and to the Translation of Demosthenes, which the Letter-writer professes to have not read before he answered it—to the spirited defence of that Dissertation, which the Letter-writer *probably* has read, but never attempted to answer. The Life of Philip contains many curious researches into the principles of government established among the leading states of Greece; many sagacious remarks on their intestine discords; many exact descriptions of their most celebrated characters, together with an extensive and correct view of those subtle intrigues, and those ambitious projects, by which Philip, at a favourable crisis, gradually obtained an unexampled and fatal mastery of the Grecian Republics. In the Translation of Demosthenes, Leland unites the man of taste with the man of learning; and shows himself to have possessed not only a competent knowledge of the Greek language, but that clearness in his own conceptions, and that animation in his feelings, which enabled him to catch the real meaning, and to preserve the genuine spirit of the most perfect orator that Athens ever produced. Through the Dissertation upon Eloquence, and the Defence of it, we see great accuracy of erudition, great perspicuity and strength of style, and, above all, a stoutness of judgment, which, in traversing the open and spacious walks of literature, disdained to be led captive, either by the sorceries of a self-deluded visionary, or the decrees of a self-created despot.

DR. PARR.

DR. MIDDLETON.

MIDDLETON was a man of no common attainments : his learning was elegant and profound, his judgment acute and polished ; he had a fine and correct taste ; and his style was so pure and so harmonious, so vigorously flowing without being inflated, that, Addison alone excepted, he seems to me without a rival. As to his mind, I am compelled with grief and reluctance to confess it was neither ingenious nor faithful.

DR. PARR.

HORACE WALPOLE.

WALPOLE had a warm conception, vehement attachments, strong aversions, with an apparent contradiction in his temper—for he had numerous caprices, and invincible perseverance. His principles tended to republicanism, but without any of its austerity ; his love of faction was unmixed with any aspiring. He had a great sense of honour, but not great enough, for he had too much sensibility not to feel it in others. He had a great measure of pride, equally apt to resent neglect, and scorning to stoop to any meanness or flattery. A boundless friend ; a bitter, but a placable enemy. His humour was satiric, though accompanied with a most compassionate heart. Indiscreet and abandoned to his passions, it seemed as if he despised or could bear no

restraint; yet this want of government of himself was the more blamable, as nobody had greater command of resolution whenever he made a point of it. This appeared in his person: naturally very delicate, and educated with too fond a tenderness, by unrelaxed temperance and braving all inclemency of weathers, he formed and enjoyed the firmest and unabated health. One virtue he possessed in a singular degree—disinterestedness and contempt of money—if one may call that a virtue, which really was a passion. In short, such was his promptness to dislike superiors, such his humanity to inferiors, that, considering how few men are of so firm a texture as not to be influenced by their situation, he thinks, if he may be allowed to judge of himself, that had either extreme of fortune been his lot, he should have made a good prince, but not a very honest slave.

HORACE WALPOLE.

DR. SUMNER.

THE reader will, I hope, indulge me, if in this place I cannot refrain from an encomium on the virtues of this my most learned and intimate friend, and a lamentation of his loss; for no man surely was more distinguished for genius, integrity, an admirable temper, most humane manners, exquisite learning. He had besides, such a talent of communicating and instructing, as I never knew in any other master; lastly, such a cheerfulness and sweetness, that it was absolutely doubtful whether he was most agreeable to his friends

or to his scholars. Both in the Greek and Latin languages he was deeply versed ; yet, like another Socrates, he wrote very little himself, though no one had more skill and precision in correcting the faults, or admiring the beauties of other writers : so that if his course of life or more benignant fortune had placed him at the bar or in parliament, and he had not undertaken the province of a schoolmaster, only in the talent of eloquence, which of all nations Britain alone now cultivates, he would have yielded the palm to no one : for several particular endowments, which of themselves recommend an orator, if not in perfection, were certainly much to be admired in him, a tuneful voice, polite diction, volubility of speech, humour, a remarkable memory ; lastly, the eyes, the looks, the action, not of a player, but almost of another Demosthenes. In short, as Cicero, in some degree, said of Roscius, he was such a master as alone to seem worthy of instructing youth, and such an orator as alone to seem worthy of discharging the most important public trusts. Does not the name of such a one exact from me the highest honour ? Such a one shall I not lament ? For his death shall I not be afflicted ? But let me beware of seeming to grieve more on my own account than for the death of my friend and instructor ; for, by dying, what has he left but a frail, uncertain, wretched life, in which, except virtue and fame, there is nothing which a good man ought eagerly to covet ? I indeed, by his death, am deprived of the most pleasing union of studies, and have also lost an assistant, whose judgment would have checked

the redundancy of youthful genius, have obscured the faults either of my speech or gesture, have polished my language, and would not only have urged me to compose a task which, on account of its extreme difficulty, almost all of us avoid, but would kindly have animadverted on my writings, have detected my mistakes, and perhaps, by friendly commendations, which have the greatest influence on the best minds, have excited me to greater attempts. In this very work, which I am now publishing, how have I regretted the want of such a learned and candid critic! for though he once perused it cursorily, yet he added not a word; he scarce altered a syllable: the notes that he wrote in the margin of the book were written more for the sake of commanding than of blaming: but such was his regard for me, that he had determined more accurately to revise with me the whole volume. If he had, it would perhaps have been free from many faults; at least it would have come forth more elegant and polished. But the perfection of my little book is a trivial loss; other things which have perished with him, I shall not cease most feelingly to lament; his friendship, his offices, his advice: but, as I said before, this is my misfortune; for he, as I trust, is most happy, and rather compassionates the empty cares of mortals, than requires either their praise or their grief.

SIR WILLIAM JONES.

DAVID HUME.

THE celebrated David Hume, whose character is so deservedly high in the literary world, and whose works, both as a philosopher and as an historian, are so wonderfully replete with genius and entertainment, was, when I was at Turin, secretary to Sir John Sinclair, plenipotentiary from the court of Great Britain to his Sardinian majesty. He had then lately published those philosophical essays which have done so much mischief to mankind, by contributing to loosen the sacred bonds by which alone man can be restrained from rushing to his own destruction, and which are so intimately necessary to our nature, that a propensity to be bound by them, was apparently instilled into the human mind, by the allwise Creator as a balance against those passions which, though perhaps necessary as incitements to activity, must, without such control, inevitably have hurried us to our ruin. The world, however, unconscious of its danger, had greedily swallowed the bait; the essays were received with applause, read with delight, and their admired author was already, by public opinion, placed at the head of the dangerous school of sceptic philosophy.

With this extraordinary man I was intimately acquainted. He had kindly disting uished me from among a number of young men, who were then at the academy, and appeared so warmly attached to me, that it was apparent he not only intended to honour me with his friendship, bu

to bestow on me what was, in his opinion, the first of all favours and benefits, by making me his convert and disciple.

Nature, I believe, never formed any man more unlike his real character than David Hume. The powers of physiognomy were baffled by his countenance; neither could the most skilful in that science pretend to discover the smallest trace of the faculties of his mind in the unmeaning features of his visage. His face was broad and fat, his mouth wide, and without any other expression than that of imbecility. His eyes were vacant and spiritless, and the corpulence of his whole person was far better fitted to communicate the idea of a turtle-eating alderman, than of a refined philosopher. His speech, in English, was rendered ridiculous by the broadest Scotch accent, and his French was, if possible, still more laughable; so that wisdom, most certainly, never disguised herself before in so uncouth a garb. Though now near fifty years old, he was healthy and strong; but his health and strength, far from being advantageous to his figure, instead of manly comeliness, had only the appearance of rusticity. His wearing a uniform added greatly to his natural awkwardness, for he wore it like a grocer of the trained bands. Sinclair was a lieutenant-general, and was sent to the courts of Vienna and Turin, as a military envoy, to see that their quota of troops was furnished by the Austrians and Piedmontese. It was, therefore, thought necessary that his secretary should appear to be an officer, and Hume was accordingly disguised in scarlet.

Having thus given an account of his exterior, it is but fair that I should state my good opinion of his character. Of all the philosophers of his sect, none, I believe, ever joined more real benevolence to its mischievous principles than my friend Hume. His love to mankind was universal and vehement; and there was no service he would not cheerfully have done to his fellow creatures, excepting only that of suffering them to save their souls in their own way. He was tender-hearted, friendly, and charitable in the extreme, as will appear from a fact which I have from good authority. When a member of the university of Edinburgh, and in great want of money, having little or no paternal fortune, and the collegiate stipend being very inconsiderable, he had procured, through the interest of some friend, an office in the university, which was worth about forty pounds a year. On the day when he had received this good news, and just when he had got into his possession the patent or grant entitling him to his office, he was visited by his friend Blacklock, the poet, who is much better known by his poverty and blindness than by his genius. This poor man began a long descant on his misery, bewailing his want of sight, his large family of children, and his utter inability to provide for them, or even to procure them the necessities of life. Hume, unable to bear his complaints, and destitute of money to assist him, ran instantly to his desk, took out the grant, and presented it to his miserable friend, who received it with exultation, and whose name was soon after, by Hume's interest, inserted instead of his

own. After such a relation it is needless that I should say any more of his genuine philanthropy and generous beneficence ; but the difficulty will now occur how a man endowed with such qualities could possibly consent to become the agent of so much mischief, as undoubtedly has been done to mankind by his writings ; and this difficulty can only be solved by having some recourse to that universal passion which has, I fear, a much more general influence over all our actions than we are willing to confess. Pride, or vanity, joined to a sceptical turn of mind, and to an education which, though learned, rather sipped knowledge than drank it, was probably the ultimate cause of this singular phenomenon ; and the desire of being placed at the head of a sect, whose tenets controverted and contradicted all received opinions, was too strong to be resisted by a man whose genius enabled him to find plausible arguments sufficient to persuade both himself and many others that his own opinions were true. A philosophical knight-errant, religion was the dragon he had vowed to vanquish, and he was careless or thoughtless of the consequences which might ensue from the achievement of the adventure to which he had pledged himself. He once professed himself the admirer of a young, most beautiful and accomplished lady at Turin, who only laughed at his passion. One day he addressed her in the usual commonplace strain, that he was *abimé, anéanti*.—“*Oh ! pour anéanti*,” replied the lady, “*ce n'est en effet qu'une opération très naturelle de votre système.*” ***

In London, where he often did me the honour

to communicate the manuscripts of his additional essays, before their publication, I have sometimes, in the course of our intimacy, asked him whether he thought that, if his opinions were universally to take place, mankind would not be rendered more unhappy than they now were; and whether he did not suppose that the curb of religion was necessary to human nature? "The objections," answered he, "are not without weight; but error never can produce good, and truth ought to take place of all considerations." He never failed in the midst of any controversy to give its due praise to every thing tolerable that was either said or written against him. One day that he visited me in London, he came into my room laughing, and apparently well pleased. "What has put you into this good humour, Hume?" said I.—"Why, man," replied he, "I have just now had the best thing said to me I ever heard. I was complaining in a company, where I spent the morning, that I was very ill treated by the world, and that the censures passed upon me were hard and unreasonable. That I had written many volumes, throughout the whole of which there were but a few pages that contained any reprehensible matter; and yet, for those few pages, I was abused and torn to pieces."—"You put me in mind," said an honest fellow in the company, whose name I did not know, "of an acquaintance of mine, a notary public, who, having been condemned to be hanged for forgery, lamented the hardship of his case, that, after having written many thousand inoffensive sheets, he should be hanged for one line."

But an unfortunate disposition to doubt of every thing seemed interwoven with the nature of Hume ; and never was there, I am convinced, a more thorough and sincere sceptic. He seemed not to be certain even of his own present existence, and could not therefore be expected to entertain any settled opinion respecting his future state. Once I asked him what he thought of the immortality of the soul ? " Why troth, man," said he, " it is so pretty and so comfortable a theory, that I wish I could be convinced of its truth, but I canna help doubting."

Hume's fashion at Paris, when he was there as secretary to Lord Hertford, was truly ridiculous ; and nothing ever marked, in a more striking manner, the whimsical genius of the French. No man, from his manners, was surely less formed for their society, or less likely to meet with their approbation ; but that flimsy philosophy which pervades and deadens even their most licentious novels was then the folly of the day. Free thinking and English frocks were the fashion, and the Anglomania was the *ton du pays*. Lord Holland, though far better calculated than Hume to please in France, was also an instance of this singular predilection. Being about this time on a visit to Paris, the French concluded that an Englishman of his reputation must be a philosopher, and must be admired. It was customary with him to doze after dinner ; and one day, at a great entertainment, he happened to fall asleep : " *Le voildà !*" says a marquis, pulling his neighbour by his sleeve ; " *Le voildà, qui pense !*" But the madness for Hume

was far more singular and extravagant. From what has been already said of him, it is apparent that his conversation to strangers, and particularly to Frenchmen, could be little delightful, and still more particularly, one would suppose, to French women. And yet no lady's toilet was complete without Hume's attendance. At the opera, his broad unmeaning face was usually seen *entre deux jolis minois*. The ladies in France give the ton, and the ton was deism; a species of philosophy ill suited to the softer sex, in whose delicate frame weakness is interesting, and timidity a charm. But the women in France were deists, as with us they were charioteers. The tenets of the new philosophy were *à portée de tout le monde*; and the perusal of a wanton novel, such, for example, as *Thérèse Philosophe*, was amply sufficient to render any fine gentleman, or any fine lady, an accomplished, nay, a learned deist. How my friend Hume was able to endure the encounter of these French female Titans, I know not. In England, either his philosophic pride, or his conviction that infidelity was ill suited to women, made him perfectly averse from the initiation of ladies into the mysteries of his doctrine. I never saw him so much displeased, or so much disconcerted, as by the petulance of Mrs. Mallet, the conceited wife of Bolingbroke's editor. This lady, who was not acquainted with Hume, meeting him one night at an assembly, boldly accosted him in these words:—"Mr. Hume, give me leave to introduce myself to you: we deists ought to know each other."—"Madam," replied he, "I am no deist. I do not

style myself so, neither do I desire to be known by that appellation."

Nothing ever gave Hume more real vexation than the strictures made upon his history in the House of Lords by the great Lord Chatham. Soon after that speech I met Hume, and ironically wished him joy of the high honour that had been done him. "Zounds, man," said he, with more peevishness than I had ever seen him express, "he's a Goth ! he's a Vandal !" Indeed, his history is as dangerous in politics as his essays are in religion ; and it is somewhat extraordinary, that the same man who labours to free the mind from what he supposes are religious prejudices, should as zealously endeavour to shackle it with the servile ideas of despotism. But he loved the Stuart family, and his history is of course their apology. All his prepossessions, however, could never induce him absolutely to falsify his history ; and though he endeavoured to soften the failings of his favourites, even in their actions, yet it is on the characters which he gives to them that he principally depends for their vindication : and from hence frequently proceeds, in the course of his history, this singular incongruity, that it is morally impossible that a man possessed of the character which the historian delineates should, in certain circumstances, have acted the part which the same historian narrates and assigns to him. But now to return to his philosophical principles, which certainly constitute the discriminative feature of his character. The practice of combating received opinions had one unhappy, though not unusual,

effect on his mind. He grew fond of paradoxes, which his abilities enabled him successfully to support; and his understanding was far warped and bent by this unfortunate predilection, that he had well nigh lost that best faculty of the mind, the almost intuitive perception of truth. His sceptical turn made him doubt, and consequently dispute every thing; yet was he a fair and pleasant disputant. He heard with patience, and answered without acrimony. Neither was his conversation at any time offensive, even to his more scrupulous companions; his good sense and good nature prevented his saying any thing that was likely to shock; and it was not till he was provoked to argument that, in mixed companies, he entered into his favourite topics. Where indeed, as was the case with me, his regard for any individual rendered him desirous of making a proselyte, his efforts were great, and anxiously incessant.

HARDY.

DR. FRANKLIN.

IN one point of view the name of Franklin must be considered as standing higher than any of the others which illustrated the eighteenth century. Distinguished as a statesman, he was equally great as a philosopher; thus uniting in himself a rare degree of excellence in both those pursuits, to excel in either of which is deemed the highest praise. Nor was his preeminence, in the one pursuit, of that doubtful kind which derives its value from such an uncommon conjunction. His efforts in each were sufficient to have made

him greatly famous, had he done nothing in the other. We regard De Witt's mathematical tracts as a curiosity, and even admire them, when we reflect that the author was a distinguished patriot, and a sufferer in the cause of his country. But Franklin would have been entitled to the glory of a first rate discoverer in science—one who had largely extended the bounds of human knowledge—although he had not stood second to Washington alone in gaining for human liberty the most splendid and guiltless of its triumphs. It is hardly a less rare, certainly not a less glorious felicity, that, much as has been given to the world of this great man's works, each successive publication increases our esteem for his virtues, and our admiration of his understanding.

The distinguishing feature of his understanding was great soundness and sagacity, combined with extraordinary quickness and penetration. He possessed also a strong and lively imagination, which gave his speculations, as well as his conduct, a singularly original turn. The peculiar charm of his writings, and his great merit also in action, consisted of the clearness with which he saw his object—and the bold and steady pursuit of it, by the surest and the shortest road. He never suffered himself, in conduct, to be turned aside by the seductions of interest or vanity, or to be scared by hesitation and fear, or to be misled by the arts of his adversaries. Neither did he, in discussion, ever go out of his way in search of ornament, or stop short from dread of the consequences. He never could be caught, in short, acting absurdly, or writing non-

sensically :—at all times, and in every thing he undertook, the vigour of an understanding, at once original and practical, was distinctly perceptible.

But it must not be supposed that his writings are devoid of ornament or amusement. The latter especially abounds in almost all he ever composed ; only nothing is sacrificed to them. On the contrary, they come most naturally into their places ; and they uniformly help the purpose on hand, of which neither reader nor writer ever loses sight for an instant. Thus his style has all the vigour and even conciseness of Swift, without any of his harshness. It is in no degree more flowery, yet both elegant and lively. The wit, or rather humour, which prevails in his works, varies with the subject. Sometimes he is bitter and sarcastic ; oftener gay, and even droll ; reminding us, in this respect, far more frequently of Addison than of Swift, as might naturally be expected from his admirable temper, or the happy turn of his imagination. When he rises into vehemence or severity, it is only when his country, or the rights of men are attacked—or when the sacred ties of humanity are violated by unfeeling or insane rulers. There is nothing more delightful than the constancy with which those amiable feelings, those sound principles, those truly profound views of human affairs, make their appearance at every opportunity, whether the immediate subject be speculative or practical—of a political, or of a more general description. It is refreshing to find such a mind as Franklin's, worthy of a place near to

Newton and to Washington, filled with those pure and exalted sentiments of concern for the happiness of mankind, which the petty wits of our times amuse themselves with laughing at, and their more cunning and calculating employers seek by every means to discourage, sometimes by ridicule, sometimes by invective, as truly incompatible with all plans of misgovernment.

The benevolent cast of his disposition was far from confining itself to those sublimer views. From earnest wishes, and active vigorous exertions for the prosperity of the species, he descended perpetually to acts of particular kindness. He seems to have felt an unwearyed satisfaction in affording assistance, instruction, or amusement to all who stood in need of it. His letters are full of passages which bear testimony to this amiable solicitude for the happiness of his fellow creatures individually; it seems the chief cause of his writing in most cases; and if he ever deviates from his habit of keeping out all superfluous matter, whatever be the subject, it is when he seems tempted to give some extra piece of knowledge or entertainment. So, if ever the serene and well natured cast of his temper appears ruffled by anger, or even soured for the moment, it is when some enormities have been committed which offend against the highest principles which he professes.

We have said little respecting his language, which is pure, and English. A few, and but a few foreign expressions may be traced, and these French, rather than American; as, for instance, *influential*. Indeed, we cannot reckon him mor-

as an American than a European. He lived so much among us, frequenting the best society, cultivating the habits, and conversant with the authors of the Old World, that the peculiarities of the New, neither as to language nor character, seem to have retained any impression upon him. Those peculiarities, moreover, have been exceedingly increased since the separation.

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If the example of this eminent person may well teach respect for philanthropic sentiments to one set of scoffers, it may equally impress upon the minds of another class the important lesson, that veneration for religion is quite compatible with a sound practical understanding. Franklin was a man of a truly pious turn of mind. The great truths of natural theology were not only deeply engraven on his mind, but constantly present to his thoughts. As far as can be collected from his writings, he appears to have been a Christian of the Unitarian school; but, if his own faith had not gone so far, he at least would greatly have respected the religion of his country and its professors, and done every thing to encourage its propagation, as infinitely beneficial to mankind, even if doubts had existed in his own mind as to some of its fundamental doctrines.

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We have already observed, that the characteristic of Franklin's understanding was his always choosing the shortest and easiest way to his object. A remarkable simplicity, a strict economy of the means employed, was always to

be seen in his operations. The parsimony with which he was, from his narrow circumstances in early life, obliged habitually to conduct himself, seems to have sharpened his ingenuity in all respects, and taught him how far industry and contrivance could go in sparing the use of adventitious helps. In him, more than in any other philosopher, we observe all the web of speculation to be wrought out of himself. He conducts his inquiries with fewer appeals to detailed experiments, and more constant reliance upon known observable facts. When he has recourse to any experimental process, he contents himself with the smallest quantity of apparatus, and of the simplest kind. He often stops to simplify and reduce it; stepping aside from the course of the investigation, to show how the experiment may be made with the most ordinary implements—a very important advantage gained to the evidence on which the inference rests. His moral and political speculations are carried on with a similar frugality; he delights in homely illustrations; he chooses the plainest and most obvious topics; and he throws away neither ideas nor words—employing only the reasons or remarks requisite to explain and to prove his positions—and the language necessary to carry these distinctly home. His benevolence was exerted with a similar regard to the economizing of his powers, without the least parsimony, but so judiciously as to make his limited means produce the greatest possible effect. And, in the management of public concerns, whether connected with the affairs of the political or literary world, the same rigid ex-

nomy of resources was to be observed, and the same happy facility of converting trifles into engines of great power. * * * *

The peculiar sagacity of perception, and force of plain expression, which distinguished every effort of Franklin's mind, gave an especial value to his practical philosophy; and it derived an additional charm from the lively fancy with which he was also largely gifted. His fondness for matter of fact, and his constant habit of attentive observation, directed to every thing that passed around him, great and little, threw many of his remarks or arguments into the form of stories, insomuch that a cursory observer would think he was only amusing himself with those little narratives, while he was in reality proving or illustrating some important principle. The love of conciseness gave him a tendency to deliver apophthegms of a proverbial cast, in which he could at once condense his meaning, and make it easily remembered by the sportive and epigrammatic turn of the proposition. His predilection for whatever was the result of actual experiment, inclined him to adopt, and, as it were, rely upon those received adages, in which mankind have embodied the lessons of practical wisdom taught them by experience and observation. When we recollect also the constant play of a good humoured imagination, which, through all his moral writings, enlivens without fatiguing, and enlightens without ever giving pain, we cannot wonder at the extraordinary merit universally allowed to those productions. In truth, they are superior to almost any others,

in any language ; whether we regard the sound, and striking, and useful truths in which they abound, or the graceful and entertaining shape in which they are conveyed. ANONYMOUS.

SOAME JENYNS.

A DISAGREEMENT about a name or a date will mar the best story that ever was put together. Sir Joshua Reynolds luckily could not hear an interrupter of this sort ; Johnson would not hear, or if he heard him, would not heed him ; Soame Jenyns heard him, heeded him, set him right, and took up his tale, where he had left it, without any diminution of its humour, adding only a few more twists to his snuff-box, a few more taps upon the lid of it, with a preparatory grunt or two, the invariable forerunners of the amenity that was at the heels of them. He was the man who bore his part in all societies with the most even temper and undisturbed hilarity of all the good companions whom I ever knew. He came into your house at the very moment you had put upon your card ; he dressed himself to do your party honour in all the colours of the jay ; his lace indeed had long since lost its lustre ; but his coat had faithfully retained its cut since the days when gentlemen wore embroidered figured velvets, with short sleeves, boot-cuffs, and buckram skirts ; as nature had cast him in the exact mould of an ill made pair of stiff stays, he followed her so close in the fashion of his coat, that it was doubted if he did not wear them ; because

he had a protuberant wen just under his pole he wore a wig, that did not cover above half his head. His eyes were protruded like the eyes of a lobster, who wears them at the end of his feelers, and yet there was room between one of these and his nose for another wen, that added nothing to his beauty: yet I heard this good man very innocently remark, when Gibbon published his history, that he wondered any body so ugly could write a book.

Such was the exterior of a man, who was the charm of the circle, and gave a zest to every company he came into; his pleasantry was of a sort peculiar to himself; it harmonized with every thing; it was like the bread to our dinner; you did not perhaps make it the whole, or principal part of your meal, but it was an admirable and wholesome auxiliary to your other viands. Soame Jenyns told you no long stories, engrossed not much of your attention, and was not angry with those that did: his thoughts were original, and were apt to have a very whimsical affinity to the paradox in them. He wrote verses upon dancing, and prose upon the origin of evil; yet he was a very indifferent metaphysician, and a worse dancer. Ill nature and personality, with the single exception of his lines upon Johnson, I never heard fall from his lips; those lines I have forgotten, though I believe I was the first person to whom he recited them: they were very bad; but he had been told that Johnson ridiculed his metaphysics, and some of us had just then been making extemporary epitaphs upon each other. Though his wit was harmless, yet the general

cast of it was ironical ; there was a terseness in his repartees that had a play of words as well as of thought ; as when speaking of the difference between laying out money upon land, or purchasing into the funds, he said, " One was principal without interest, and the other interest without principal." Certain it is he had a brevity of expression, that never hung upon the ear, and you felt the point in the very moment that he made the push. It was rather to be lamented that his lady, Mrs. Jenyns, had so great a respect for his good sayings, and so imperfect a recollection of them ; for though she always prefaced her recitals of them with *as Mr. Jenyns says*—it was not always what Mr. Jenyns said, and never, I am apt to think, *as Mr. Jenyns said* ; but she was an excellent old lady, and twirled her fan with as much mechanical address as her ingenuous husband twirled his snuff-box.

CUMBERLAND.

DR. GOLDSMITH.

AT this time I did not know Oliver Goldsmith even by person ; I think our first meeting chanced to be at the British Coffee House ; when we came together, we very speedily coalesced ; and I believe he forgave me for all the little fame I had got by the success of my West Indian, which had put him to some trouble ; for it was not his nature to be unkind ; and I had soon an opportunity of convincing him how incapable I was of harbouring resentment, and how zealously I

took my share in what concerned his interest and reputation. That he was fantastically vain all the world knows ; but there was no settled and inherent malice in his heart. He was tenacious to a ridiculous extreme of certain pretensions, that did not, and by nature could not belong to him, and at the same time inexcusably careless of the fame which he had powers to command. His table-talk was, as Garrick aptly compared it, like that of a parrot, whilst he wrote like Apollo : he had gleams of eloquence, and at times a majesty of thought ; but in general his tongue and his pen had two very different styles of talking. What foibles he had he took no pains to conceal ; the good qualities of his heart were too frequently obscured by the carelessness of his conduct and the frivolity of his manners. Sir Joshua Reynolds was very good to him, and would have drilled him into better trim and order for society, if he would have been amenable ; for Reynolds was a perfect gentleman, had good sense, great propriety, with all the social attributes, and all the graces of hospitality, equal to any man. He well knew how to appreciate men of talents, and how near akin the Muse of poetry was to that art of which he was so eminent a master. From Goldsmith he caught the subject of his famous Ugolino ; what aids he got from others, if he got any, were worthily bestowed and happily applied.

There is something in Goldsmith's prose that to my ear is uncommonly sweet and harmonious ; it is clear, simple, easy to be understood ; we never want to read his period twice over, except

for the pleasure it bestows ; obscurity never calls us back to a repetition of it. • That he was a poet there is no doubt; but the paucity of his verses does not allow us to rank him in that high station where his genius might have carried him. There must be bulk, variety, and grandeur of design, to constitute a first-rate poet. The Deserted Village, Traveller, and Hermit, are all specimens beautiful as such ; but they are only birds' eggs on a string, and eggs of small birds too. One great magnificent *whole* must be accomplished before we can pronounce upon the *maker* to be the *poet*. Pope himself never earned this title by a work of any magnitude but his Homer ; and that being a translation only constitutes him an accomplished versifier. Distress drove Goldsmith upon undertakings neither congenial with his studies, nor worthy of his talents.

I remember him, when in his chamber in the Temple, he showed me the beginning of his *Animated Nature*; it was with a sigh, such as genius draws when hard necessity diverts it from its bent to drudge for bread, and talk of birds and beasts and creeping things, which Pidcock's showman would have done as well. Poor fellow, he hardly knew an ass from a mule, nor a turkey from a goose, but when he saw it on the table. But publishers hate poetry, and Paternoster-row is not Parnassus. Even the mighty Doctor Hill, who was not a very delicate feeder, could not make a dinner out of the press till by a happy transformation into Hannah Glass he turned himself into a cook, and sold receipts for made dishes to all the savoury readers in the kingdom. The

indeed the press acknowledged him second in fame only to John Bunyan : his feasts kept pace in sale with Nelson's fasts ; and when his own name was fairly written out of credit, he wrote himself into immortality under an alias. Now though necessity, or I should rather say the desire of finding money for a masquerade, drove Oliver Goldsmith upon abridging histories and turning Buffon into English, yet I much doubt if without that spur he would ever have put his Pegasus into action ; no, if he had been rich, the world would have been poorer than it is by the loss of all the treasures of his genius and the contributions of his pen.

CUMBERLAND.

HENDERSON THE ACTOR.

HE was an actor of uncommon powers, and a man of the brightest intellect, formed to be the delight of society ; and few indeed are those men of distinguished talents who have been more prematurely lost to the world, or more lastingly regretted. What he was on the stage those who recollect his Falstaff, Shylock, Sir Giles Overreach, and many other parts of the strong cast, can fully testify ; what he was at his own fireside and in his social hours, all, who were within the circle of his intimates, will not easily forget. He had an unceasing flow of spirits, and a boundless fund of humour irresistibly amusing : he also had wit, properly so distinguished, and from the specimens, which I have seen of his sallies in verse, leveled at a certain editor of a public print, who

had annoyed him with his paragraphs, I am satisfied he had talents at command to have established a very high reputation as a poet. I was with him one morning when he was indisposed, and his physician, Sir John Eliot, paid him a visit. The doctor, as is well known, was a merry little being, who talked pretty much at random; upon the present occasion, however, he came professionally to inquire how his medicine had succeeded, and in his northern accent demanded of his patient—"Had he taken the *palls* that he sent him?"—"He had." "Well! and how did they agree? What had they done?"—"Wonders," replied Henderson, "I survived them."—"To be sure you did," said the doctor, "and you must take more of them, and live for ever: I make all my patients immortal."—"That is exactly what I am afraid of, doctor," rejoined the patient: "I met a lady of my acquaintance yesterday; you know her very well: she was in bitter affliction, crying and bewailing herself in a most piteous fashion: I asked what had happened: a melancholy event; her dearest friend was at death's door."—"What is her disease?" cried the doctor.—"That is the very question I asked," replied Henderson; "but she was in no danger from her disease; it was very slight; a mere excuse for calling in a physician."—"Why, what the devil are you talking about," rejoined the doctor, "if she has called in a physician, and there was no danger in the disease, how could she be said to be at death's door?"—"Because," said Henderson, "she had called in you: every body calls you in; you dispatch a world of busi-

ness ; and, if you come but once to each, your practice must have made you very rich."—"Nay, nay," quoth Sir John, " I am not rich in this world ; I lay up my treasure in heaven."—"Then you may take leave of it for ever," rejoined the other, " for you have laid it up where you will never find it."

Henderson's memory was so prodigious, that I dare not risk the instance which I could give of it ; not thinking myself entitled to demand more credit than I could probably be disposed to give. In his private character many good and amiable qualities might be traced, particularly in his conduct to an aged mother, to whom he bore a truly filial attachment ; and in laying up a provision for his wife and daughter he was sufficiently careful and economical. He was concerned with the elder Sheridan in a course of public readings : there could not be a higher treat than to hear his recitations from parts and passages in *Tristram Shandy* : let him broil his dish of sprats, seasoned with the sauce of his pleasantry, and succeeded by a dessert of Trim and my Uncle Toby, it was an entertainment worthy to be enrolled amongst the *noctes cœnasque Dirūm*. I once heard him read part of a tragedy, and but once ; it was in his own parlour, and he ranted most outrageously : he was conscious how ill he did it, and laid it aside before he had finished it. It was clear he had not studied that most excellent property of pitching his voice to the size of the room he was in ; an art which so few readers have, but which Lord Mansfield was allowed to possess in perfection. He was an admirable mimic, and in

his sallies of this sort he invented speeches and dialogues, so perfectly appropriate to the characters he was displaying, that I do not doubt that many sayings have been given to the persons he made free with, which being fastened on them by him in a frolic, have stuck to them ever since, and perhaps gone down to posterity amongst their memorabilia. If there was any body now qualified to draw a parallel between the characters of Foote and Henderson, I do not pretend to say how the men of wit and humour might divide the laurel between them ; but in this all men would agree, that poor Foote attached to himself very few true friends, and Henderson very many, and those highly respectable, men virtuous in their lives, and enlightened in their understandings. Foote, vain, extravagant, embarrassed, led a wild and thoughtless course of life, yet when death approached him, he shrunk back into himself, saw and confessed his errors, and I have reason to believe was truly penitent. Henderson's conduct was uniformly decorous, and in the concluding stage of it exemplarily devout.

CUMBERLAND.

THE ABBÉ HUSSEY.

I HAD now manoeuvred the Abbe Hussey into a mission, the most acceptable to him that could be devised, as it took him out of Spain, and liberated him from the necessity of acting a part which he could not longer have sustained with any credit to himself ; for it was only whilst the treaty was in train with the sincere good will of

Spain that he could be truly cordial in the cause ; when unforeseen events occurred to check and interrupt the progress of it, his sagacity did not fail to discover that he could no longer preserve a middle interest with both parties, but must be hooked into a dilemma of choosing his side ; which that would have been when duplicity must have been thrown off, was a decision he did not wish to come to, though I perhaps can conjecture where it would have led him. He had no great prejudices for England ; Ireland was his native country, but even that and the whole world had been renounced by him, when he threw himself into the oblivious convent of La Trappe, and was only dragged from out of his cell by force and the emancipating authority of the Pope himself. Whilst he was here digging his own grave, and consigning himself to perpetual taciturnity, he was a very young man, high in blood, of athletic strength, and built as if to see a century to its end. It was not the enthusiasm of devotion, no holy raptures, that inspired him with this desperate resolution : it was the splenetic effect of disappointed passion ; and such was the change, which a short time had wrought in him, that father Robinson, the worthy priest, with whom he afterwards cohabited, told me, that when he attended the order for his deliverance, he could hardly ascertain his person, especially as he persisted to asseverate in the strongest terms that he was not the man they were in search of.

When he came forth again into the world with passions rather suspended than subdued, I am inclined to think that he considered himself as

forced upon a scene of action where he was to play his part with as much finesse and dissimulation as suited his interest, or furthered his ambition ; and this he probably reconciled to his conscience by a commodious kind of casuistry, in which he was a true adept.

He wore upon his countenance a smile sufficiently seductive for common purposes and cursory acquaintance : his address was smooth, obsequious, studiously obliging, and at times glowingly heightened into an impassioned show of friendship and affection. He was quick enough in finding out the characters of men, and the openings through which they were assailable to flattery ; but he was not equally successful in his mode of tempering and applying it ; for he was vain of showing his triumph over inferior understandings, and could not help colouring his attentions sometimes with such a florid hue, as gave an air of irony and ridicule, that did not always escape detection : and thus it came to pass that he was little credited (and even less than he deserved to be) for sincerity in his warmest professions, or politeness in his best attempts to please.

As I am persuaded that he left behind him in his coffin at La Trappe no one passion, native or ingrafted, that belonged to him when he entered it, ambition lost no hold upon his heart, and of course I must believe that the station which he filled in Spain, and the high sounding titles and dignities which the favour of his Catholic Majesty might readily endow him with, were to him such lures as, though but feathers, outweighed English

guineas in his balance, for of these I must do him the justice to say he was indignantly regardless, but to the honours that his church could give, to the mitre of Waterford, though merely titular, it is clear to demonstration he had no repugnance.

He made profession of a candour and liberality of sentiment, bordering almost upon downright protestantism, whilst in heart he was as high a priest as Thomas à Becket, and as stiff a Catholic, though he ridiculed their mummeries, as ever kissed the cross. He did not exactly want to stir up petty insurrections in his native country of Ireland, but to head a revolution that should overturn the church established, and enthrone himself primate in the cathedral of Armagh, would have been his brightest glory and supreme felicity ; and in truth he was a man by talents, nerves, ambition, intrepidity, fitted for the boldest enterprise.

CUMBERLAND.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS.

His illness had been long, but borne with a mild and cheerful fortitude, without the least mixture of any thing irritable or querulous, agreeably to the placid and even tenor of his whole life. He had from the beginning of his malady a distinct view of his dissolution, which he contemplated with that entire composure which nothing but the innocence, integrity, and usefulness of his life, and an unaffected submission to the will of Providence could bestow. In this situation he

had every consolation from family tenderness, which his tenderness to his family had always merited.

Sir Joshua Reynolds was, on very many accounts, one of the most memorable men of his time :—he was the first Englishman who added the praise of the elegant arts to the other glories of his country. In taste, in grace, in facility, in happy invention, and in the richness and harmony of colouring, he was equal to the great masters of the renowned ages. In portrait he went beyond them ; for he communicated to that description of the art, in which English artists are the most engaged, a variety, a fancy, and a dignity derived from the higher branches, which even those who profess them in a superior manner did not always preserve when they delineated individual nature. His portraits remind the spectator of the invention of history and the amenity of landscape. In painting portraits, he appears not to be raised upon that platform, but to descend to it from a higher sphere. His paintings illustrate his lessons, and his lessons seem to have been derived from his paintings.

He possessed the theory as perfectly as the practice of his art. To be such a painter, he was a profound and penetrating philosopher.

In full happiness of foreign and domestic fame, admired by the expert in art, and by the learned in science, courted by the great, caressed by sovereign powers, and celebrated by distinguished poets, his native humility, modesty, and candour never forsook him, even on surprise or provocation ; nor was the least degree of arrogance or

assumption visible to the most scrutinizing eye in any part of his conduct or discourse.

His talents of every kind—powerful from nature, and not meanly cultivated in letters—his social virtues in all the relations and all the habitudes of life rendered him the centre of a very great and unparalleled variety of agreeable societies, which will be dissipated by his death. He had too much merit not to excite some jealousy; too much innocence to provoke any enmity. The loss of no man of his time can be felt with more sincere, general, and unmixed sorrow. Hail! and farewell.

BURKE.

* * * *

To the grandeur, the truth, and simplicity of Titian, and to the daring strength of Rembrandt, he has united the chasteness and delicacy of Vandyke. Delighted with the picturesque beauty of Rubens, he was the first that attempted a bright and gay back ground to portraits, and defying the dull and ignorant rules of his master, at a very early period of life, emancipated his art from the shackles with which it had been encumbered in the school of Hudson. There is, however, every reason to believe, that he very rarely copied any entire picture of any master, though he certainly did imitate the excellent parts of many; and his versatility in this respect was equalled only by the susceptibility of his feelings, the quickness of his comprehension, and the ardour which prompted his efforts. His pictures in general possess a degree of merit superior to mere portraits, they assume the rank of history.

His portraits of men are distinguished by a certain air of dignity, and those of women and children by a grace, a beauty, and simplicity which have seldom been equalled, and never surpassed. No painter ever gave so completely as himself that momentary fascinating expression, that irresistible charm, which accompanies and denotes the "Cynthia of the minute." In his attempts to give character where it did not exist, he has sometimes lost likeness; but the deficiencies of the portrait were often compensated by the beauty of the picture. The attitudes of his figures are generally full of grace, ease, and propriety; he could throw them into the boldest variations, and he often ventures on postures which inferior painters could not execute; or which, if attempted, would inevitably destroy their credit. His chief aim, however, was colour and effect, and these he always varied as the subject required. Whatever deficiencies there may be in the designs of this great master, no one at any period better understood the principles of colouring; nor can it be doubted that he carried this branch of his art to a very high degree of perfection. His lights display the knowledge he possessed, and with shade he conceals his defects. Whether we consider the power, the brilliancy, or the form of his lights, the transparency of his shadows, with the just quantities of each, and the harmony, richness, and full effect of the whole, it is evident that he has not only far transcended every modern master, but that his excellencies in these captivating parts of painting vie with the works of the great models he has emulated. The opinion he has

given of Raffaelle, may, with equal justice, be applied to himself, "that his materials were generally borrowed, but the noble structure was his own." No one ever appropriated the ideas of others to his own purpose with more skill than Sir Joshua. He possessed the alchemy of painting, by converting whatever he touched into gold. Like the bee that extracts sweets from the most noxious flowers, so his active observation could see every thing pregnant with the means of improvement, from the wooden print on a common ballad to the highest graces of Parmigiano. Perhaps there is no painter that ever went before him, from whom he has not derived some advantage, and appropriated certain excellencies with judicious selection and consummate taste. Yet after all that can be alleged against him as a borrower of forms from other masters, it must be allowed he engrafted on them beauties peculiarly his own. The severest critics indeed must admit, that his manner is truly original, bold, and free. Freedom is certainly one of his principal characteristics ; and to this he seems often to have sacrificed every other consideration. He has, however, two manners ; his early pictures are without those violent freedoms of execution and dashes of the pencil, being more minute and more fearful, but the colouring is clear, natural, and good. In his latter and bolder works, the colour, though excellent, is sometimes more artificial than chaste.

As an historical painter, he cannot be placed in the same rank which he holds in the line of portraiture. The compositions of his portraits are unquestionably excellent, whilst his historical

pictures are, in this respect, often very defective. They frequently consist of borrowed parts, which are not always suited to each other. Though many times inaccurate, and deficient in the style of drawing, they must, however, be allowed to possess great breadth, taste, and feeling, and many of them fine expression. His light, poetical pieces much excelled those of a narrative or historical order.

NORTHCOTE.

MAHOMET.

AT the conclusion of the life of Mahomet it may perhaps be expected that I should balance his faults and virtues, that I should decide whether the title of enthusiast or impostor more properly belongs to that extraordinary man. Had I been intimately conversant with the son of Abdallah, the task would still be difficult and the success uncertain: at the distance of twelve centuries, I darkly contemplate his shade through a cloud of religious incense; and could I truly delineate the portrait of an hour, the fleeting resemblance would not equally apply to the solitary of Mount Hera, to the preacher of Mecca, and to the conqueror of Arabia. The author of a mighty revolution appears to have been endowed with a pious and contemplative disposition: so soon as marriage had raised him above the pressure of want, he avoided the paths of ambition and avarice; and till the age of forty he lived with innocence, and would have died without a name. The unity of God is an idea most congenial to nature and

reason ; and a slight conversation with the Jews and Christians would teach him to despise and detest the idolatry of Mecca. It was the duty of a man and a citizen to impart the doctrine of salvation, to rescue his country from the dominion of sin and error. The energy of a mind incessantly bent on the same object would convert a general obligation into a particular call ; the warm suggestions of the understanding or the fancy would be felt as the inspirations of heaven ; the labour of thought would expire in rapture and vision ; and the inward sensation, the invisible monitor, would be described with the form and attributes of an angel of God. From enthusiasm to imposture the step is perilous and slippery ; the demon of Socrates affords a memorable instance how a wise man may deceive himself, how a good man may deceive others, how the conscience may slumber in a mixed and middle state between selfdelusion and a voluntary fraud. Charity may believe that the original motives of Mahomet were those of pure and genuine benevolence ; but a human missionary is incapable of cherishing the obstinate unbelievers who reject his claims, despise his arguments, and persecute his life ; he might forgive his personal adversaries, he may lawfully hate the enemies of God : the stern passions of pride and revenge were kindled in the bosom of Mahomet, and he sighed, like the prophet of Nineveh, for the destruction of the rebels he had condemned. The injustice of Mecca, and the choice of Medina, transformed the citizen into a prince, the humble preacher into the leader of armies ; but his sword was consecrated by the

example of the saints; and the same God who afflicts a sinful world with pestilence and earthquakes might inspire for their conversion or chastisement the valour of his servants. In the exercise of political government he was compelled to abate of the stern rigour of fanaticism, to comply in some measure with the prejudices and passions of his followers, and to employ even the vices of mankind as the instruments of their salvation. The use of fraud and perfidy, of cruelty and injustice, were often subservient to the propagation of the faith; and Mahomet commanded or approved the assassination of the Jews and idolaters who had escaped from the field of battle. By the repetition of such acts the character of Mahomet must have been gradually stained; and the influence on such pernicious habits would be poorly compensated by the practice of the personal or social virtues which are necessary to maintain the reputation of a prophet among his sectaries and friends. Of his last years, ambition was the ruling passion; and a politician will suspect that he secretly smiled (the victorious impostor!) at the enthusiasm of his youth and the credulity of his proselytes. A philosopher will observe that *their* cruelty and *his* success would tend more strongly to fortify the assurance of his divine mission, that his interest and religion were inseparably connected, and that his conscience would be soothed by the persuasion that he alone was absolved by the Deity from the obligation of positive and moral laws. If he retained any vestige of his native innocence, the sins of Mahomet may be allowed as an evidence of his sincerity.

In the support of truth the arts of fraud and fiction may be deemed less criminal ; and he would have started at the foulness of the means, had he not been satisfied of the importance and justice of the end. Even in a conqueror or a priest I can surprise a word or action of unaffected humanity ; and the decree of Mahomet, that in the sale of captives the mothers should never be separated from their children, may suspend or moderate the censure of the historian.

The good sense of Mahomet despised the pomp of royalty ; the apostle of God submitted to the menial offices of the family : he kindled the fire, swept the floor, milked the ewes, and mended with his own hands his shoes and his woollen garments. Disdaining the penance and merit of a hermit, he observed without effort or vanity the abstemious diet of an Arab and a soldier. On solemn occasions he feasted his companions with rustic and hospitable plenty ; but in his domestic life many weeks would elapse without a fire being kindled on the hearth of the prophet. The interdiction of wine was confirmed by his example ; his hunger was appeased with a sparing allowance of barley bread ; he delighted in the taste of milk and honey ; but his ordinary food consisted of dates and water. Perfumes and women were the two sensual enjoyments which his nature required and his religion did not forbid ; and Mahomet affirmed that the fervour of his devotion was increased by these innocent pleasures. The heat of the climate inflames the blood of the Arabs ; and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity. Their incon-

tinence was regulated by the civil and religious laws of the Koran: their incestuous alliances were blamed, the boundless licence of polygamy was reduced to four legitimate wives or concubines; their rights, both of bed and of dowry, were equitably determined; the freedom of divorce was discouraged; adultery was condemned as a capital offence; and fornication in either sex was punished with a hundred stripes. Such were the calm and rational precepts of the legislator: but in his private conduct Mahomet indulged in the appetites of a man, and abused the claims of a prophet.

GIBBON.

ROBERT GUISCARD.

THE pedigree of Robert Guiscard is variously deduced from the peasants and the dukes of Normandy; from the peasants, by the pride and ignorance of a Grecian princess; from the dukes, by the ignorance and flattery of Italian subjects. His genuine descent may be ascribed to the second or middle order of private nobility. He sprang from a race of *valvassors*, or *bannerets*, of the diocese of Coutances, in the Lower Normandy: the castle of Hauteville was their honourable seat: his father Tancred was conspicuous in the court and army of the duke; and his military service was furnished by ten soldiers or knights. Two marriages, of a rank not unworthy of his own, made him the father of twelve sons, who were educated at home by the impartial tenderness of his second wife. But a narrow patrimony

was insufficient for this numerous and daring progeny ; they saw around the neighbourhood the mischiefs of poverty and discord, and resolved to seek in foreign wars a more glorious inheritance. Two only remained to perpetuate the race, and cherish their father's age : their ten brothers, as they successively attained the vigour of manhood, departed from the castle, passed the Alps, and joined the Apulian camp of the Normans. The elder were prompted by native spirit ; their success encouraged their younger brethren, and the three first in seniority, William, Drogo, and Humphrey, deserved to be the chiefs of their nation and the founders of the new republic. Robert was the eldest of the seven sons of the second marriage ; and even the reluctant praise of his foes has endowed him with the heroic qualities of a soldier and a statesman. His lofty stature surpassed the tallest of his army : his limbs were cast in the true proportion of strength and gracefulness ; and to the decline of life he maintained the patient vigour of health and the commanding dignity of his form. His complexion was ruddy, his shoulders were broad, his hair and beard were long, and of a flaxen colour, his eyes sparkled with fire, and his voice, like that of Achilles, could impress obedience and terror amidst the tumult of battle. In the ruder ages of chivalry, such qualifications are not below the notice of the poet or historian : they may observe that Robert, at once, and with equal dexterity, could wield in the right hand his sword, his lance in the left ; that in the battle of Civitella he was thrice unhorsed ; and that in the close of that

memorable day he was adjudged to have borne away the prize of valour from the warriors of the two armies. His boundless ambition was founded on the consciousness of superior worth : in the pursuit of greatness, he was never arrested by the scruples of justice, and seldom moved by the feelings of humanity : though not insensible of fame, the choice of open or clandestine means was determined only by his present advantage. The surname of *Guiscard** was applied to this master of political wisdom, which is too often confounded with the practice of dissimulation and deceit ; and Robert is praised by the Apulian poet for excelling the cunning of Ulysses and the eloquence of Cicero.—Yet these arts were disguised by an appearance of military frankness : in his highest fortune he was accessible and courteous to his fellow soldiers ; and while he indulged the prejudices of his new subjects, he affected in his dress and manner to maintain the ancient fashion of his country. He grasped with a rapacious, that he might distribute with a liberal, hand : his primitive indigence had taught the habits of frugality ; the gain of a merchant was not below his attention ; and his prisoners were tortured with slow and unfeeling cruelty to force a discovery of their secret treasure.—According to the Greeks, he departed from Normandy with only five followers on horseback and thirty on foot; yet even this allowance appears too bountiful : the sixth son of Tancred of Hau-

* The Norman writers and editors most conversant with their own idiom, interpret *Guiscard*, or *Wiscard*, by *Callidus*, a cunning man.

teville passed the Alps as a pilgrim ; and his first military band was levied among the adventurers of Italy. His brothers and countrymen had divided the fertile lands of Apulia ; but they guarded their shares with the jealousy of avarice ; the aspiring youth was driven forwards to the mountains of Calabria, and in his first exploits against the Greeks and the natives, it is not easy to discriminate the hero from the robber. To surprise a castle or a convent, to ensnare a wealthy citizen, to plunder the adjacent villages for necessary food, were the obscure labours which formed and exercised the powers of his mind and body. The volunteers of Normandy adhered to his standard ; and, under his command, the peasants of Calabria assumed the name and character of Normans.

GIBBON.

MAHMUD OF GAZNA.

FROM the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the East : his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace ; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion ; and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. I. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and his bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud, "inform me of his next visit, and

ourselves in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity ; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motive of this singular behaviour. " I had reason to suspect that none except one of my sons could dare to perpetrate such an outrage ; and I extinguished the lights, that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender ; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food, since the first moment of your complaint." II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia : he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son. " During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, " I was ever apprehensive of your ambition : he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more ; his sceptre has passed to a woman and child, and you dare not attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat ! and yet the event of war is in the

hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud; and never had that passion been more richly satiated. The orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the accounts of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as never has been produced by the workmanship of nature. Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals; her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mahometan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force; one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle. He again wept at the instability of human greatness; and his grief was imbibed by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

GIBBON.

CHARLEMAGNE.

THE appellation of *Great* has been often bestowed, and sometimes deserved, but Charlemagne is the only prince in whose favour the title has been indissolubly blended with the name. That name, with the addition of saint, is inserted in the Roman calendar ; and the saint, by a rare felicity, is crowned with the praises of the historians and philosophers of an enlightened age. His real merit is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged : but the apparent magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison ; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert. Without injustice to his fame I may discern some blemishes in the sanctity and greatness of the restorer of the western empire. Of his moral virtues, chastity is not the most conspicuous : but the public happiness could not be materially injured by his nine wives or concubines, the various indulgence of meaner or more transient amours, the multitude of his bastards whom he bestowed on the church, and the long celibacy and licentious manners of his daughters, whom the father was suspected of loving with too fond a passion. I shall be scarcely permitted to accuse the ambition of a conqueror ; but in a day of equal retribution the sons of his brother Carloman, the Merovingian princes of Aquitain, and the four thousand five hundred Saxons who were beheaded on the same spot, would have something to allege against the justice and humanity of

Charlemagne. His treatment of the vanquished Saxons was an abuse of the right of conquest: his laws were not less sanguinary than his arms, and in the discussion of his motives whatever is subtracted from bigotry must be imputed to temper. The sedentary reader is amazed by his incessant activity of mind and body; and his subjects and enemies were not less astonished at his sudden presence at the moment when they believed him at the most distant extremity of the empire: neither peace nor war, nor summer nor winter, were a season of repose; and our fancy cannot easily reconcile the annals of his reign with the geography of his expeditions. But this activity was a national rather than a personal virtue; the vagrant life of a Frank was spent in the chase, in pilgrimage, in military adventures; and the journeys of Charlemagne were distinguished only by a more numerous train and a more important purpose. His military renown must be tried by the scrutiny of his troops, his enemies, and his actions. Alexander conquered with the arms of Philip, but the two heroes who preceded Charlemagne bequeathed him their name, their example, and the companions of their victories. At the head of his veteran and superior armies he oppressed the savage or degenerate nations who were incapable of confederating for their common safety: nor did he ever encounter an equal antagonist in numbers, in discipline, or in arms. The science of war has been lost and revived with the arts of peace; but his campaigns are not illustrated by any siege or battle of singular difficulty and success; and he might behold with

envy the Saracen trophies of his grandfather. After his Spanish expedition his rear guard was defeated in the Pyrenean mountains ; and the soldiers, whose situation was irretrievable, and whose valour was useless, might accuse with their last breath the want of skill or caution of their general. I touch with reverence the laws of Charlemagne, so highly applauded by a respectable judge. They compose not a system but a series of occasional and minute edicts, for the correction of abuses, the reformation of manners, the economy of his farms, the care of his poultry, and even the sale of his eggs. He wished to improve the laws and the character of the Franks ; and his attempts, however feeble and imperfect, are deserving of praise : the inveterate evils of the times were suspended or mollified by his government ; but in his institutions I can seldom discover the general views and the immortal spirit of a legislator, who survives himself for the benefit of posterity. The union and stability of his empire depended on the life of a single man : he imitated the dangerous practice of dividing his kingdoms amongst his sons ; and after numerous diets the whole constitution was left to fluctuate between the disorders of anarchy and despotism. His esteem for the piety and knowledge of the clergy tempted him to entrust that aspiring order with temporal dominion and civil jurisdiction ; and his son Lewis, when he was stripped and degraded by the bishops, might accuse, in some measure, the imprudence of his father. His laws enforced the imposition of tithes, because the demons had proclaimed in the air that

the default of payment had been the cause of the last scarcity.

The literary merits of Charlemagne are attested by the foundation of schools, the introduction of arts, the works which were published in his name, and his familiar connexion with the subjects and strangers whom he invited to his court to educate both the prince and the people. His own studies were tardy, laborious, and imperfect; if he spoke Latin and understood Greek, he derived the rudiments of knowledge from conversation rather than from books: and in his mature age the emperor strove to acquire the practice of writing, which every peasant now learns in his infancy. The grammar and logic, the music and astronomy, of the times, were only cultivated as the handmaids of superstition; but the curiosity of the human mind must ultimately tend to its improvement, and the encouragement of learning reflects the purest and most pleasing lustre on the character of Charlemagne. The dignity of his person, the length of his reign, the prosperity of his arms, the vigour of his government, and the reverence of distant nations, distinguish him from the royal crowd; and Europe dates a new era from his restoration of the western empire.

GIBBON.

LOUIS XI. OF FRANCE, AND CHARLES OF BURGUNDY.

THE latter part of the fifteenth century prepared a train of future events, that ended by raising France to that state of formidable power, which has ever since been from time to time the prin-

cipal object of jealousy to the other European nations. Before that period, she had to struggle for her very existence with the English, already possessed of her fairest provinces; while the utmost exertions of her king, and the gallantry of her natives, could scarce protect the remainder from a foreign yoke. Neither was this her sole danger. The princes who possessed the grand fiefs of the crown, and, in particular, the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, had come to wear their feudal bonds so lightly, that they had no scruple in lifting the standard against their liege and sovereign lord, the king of France, on the slightest pretences. When at peace they reigned as absolute princes in their own provinces; and the House of Burgundy, possessed of the district so called, together with the fairest and richest part of Flanders, was of itself so wealthy and so powerful, as to yield nothing to the crown, either in splendour or in strength.

In imitation of the grand feudatories, each inferior vassal of the crown assumed as much independence as his distance from the sovereign power, the extent of his fief, or the strength of his residence, enabled him to maintain; and these petty tyrants, no longer amenable to the exercise of the law, perpetrated with impunity the wildest excesses of fantastic oppression and cruelty. In Auvergne alone, a report was made of more than three hundred of these independent nobles, to whom incest, murder, and rapine were the most ordinary and familiar actions.

Besides these evils, another, springing out of the long continued wars between the French and English, added no small misery to this distracted

kingdom. Numerous bodies of soldiers collected into bands, under officers chosen by themselves from among the bravest and most successful adventurers, had been formed in various parts of France out of the refuse of all other countries. These hireling combatants sold their swords for a time to the best bidder; and, where such an offer was wanting, they made war on their own account, seizing castles and towers, which they used as the places of their retreat,—making prisoners, and ransoming them,—exacting tribute from the open villages and the country around them,—and acquiring, by every species of rapine, the appropriate epithets of *Tondeurs* and *Escorcheurs*, that is, *Clippers* and *Flayers*.

In the midst of the horrors and miseries arising from so distracted a state of public affairs, reckless and profuse expense distinguished the courts of the lesser nobles, as well as of the superior princes; and their dependents, in imitation, expended in rude, but magnificent display, the wealth which they extorted from the people. A tone of romantic and chivalrous gallantry (which, however, was often disgraced by unbounded licence), characterized the intercourse between the sexes; and the language of knight errantry was yet used, and its observances followed, though the pure spirit of honourable love and benevolent enterprise, which it inculcates, had ceased to qualify and atone for its extravagancies. The jousts and tournaments, the entertainments and revels, which each petty court displayed; invited to France every wandering adventurer; and it was seldom that, when arrived there, he

failed to employ his rash courage and headlong spirit of enterprise in actions for which his happier native country afforded no free stage.

At this period, as if to save this fair realm from the various woes with which it was menaced, the tottering throne was ascended by Louis XI., whose character, evil as it was in itself, met, combatted, and in a great degree neutralised the mischiefs of the time—as poisons of opposing qualities are said, in ancient books of medicine, to have the power of counteracting each other.

Brave enough for every useful and political purpose, Louis had not a spark of that romantic valour, or of the pride connected with it, and arising out of it, which fought on for the point of honour, when the point of utility had been long gained. Calm, crafty, and profoundly attentive to his own interest, he made every sacrifice, both of pride and passion, which could interfere with it. He was careful in disguising his real sentiments and purposes from all who approached him, and frequently used the expressions, “that the king knew not how to reign who knew not how to dissemble; and that, for himself, if he thought his very cap knew his secrets, he would throw it into the fire.” No man of his own, or of any other time, better understood how to avail himself of the frailties of others, and when to avoid giving any advantage by the untimely indulgence of his own.

He was by nature vindictive and cruel, even to the extent of finding pleasure in the frequent executions which he commanded. But, as no

touch of mercy ever induced him to spare, when he could with safety condemn, so no sentiment of vengeance ever stimulated him to a premature violence. He seldom sprung on his prey till it was fairly within his grasp, and till all chance of rescue was in vain; and his movements were so studiously disguised, that his success was generally what first announced to the world what object he had been manoeuvring to attain.

In like manner the avarice of Louis gave way to apparent profusion, when it was necessary to bribe the favourite or minister of a rival prince for averting any impending attack, or to break up any alliance confederated against him. He was fond of licence and pleasure; but neither beauty nor the chase, though both were ruling passions, ever withdrew him from the most regular attendance to public business and the affairs of his kingdom. His knowledge of mankind was profound, and he had sought it in the private walks of life, in which he often personally mingled; and, though personally proud and haughty, he hesitated not, with an inattention to the arbitrary divisions of society, which was then thought something portentously unnatural, to raise from the lowest rank men whom he employed on the most important duties, and knew so well how to choose them, that he was rarely disappointed in their qualities.

Yet there were contradictions in the nature of this artful and able monarch; for humanity is never uniform. Himself the most false and insincere of mankind, some of the greatest errors of his life arose from too rash a confidence in the

honour and integrity of others. When these errors took place, they seem to have arisen from an over refined system of policy, which induced Louis to assume the appearance of undoubting confidence in those whom it was his object to overreach; for, in his general conduct, he was as jealous and suspicious as any tyrant who ever lived.

Two other points may be noticed, to complete the sketch of this formidable character, who rose among the rude chivalrous sovereigns of the period to the rank of a keeper among wild beasts, who, by superior wisdom and policy, by distribution of food, and some discipline by blows, comes finally to predominate over those, who, if unsubjected by his arts, would by main strength have torn him to pieces.

The first of these attributes was Louis's excessive superstition, a plague with which Heaven often afflicts those who refuse to listen to the dictates of religion. The remorse arising from his evil actions, Louis never endeavoured to appease by any relaxation in his Machiavellian stratagems, but laboured in vain to sooth and silence that painful feeling by superstitious observances, severe penance, and profuse gifts to the ecclesiastics. The second property, with which the first is sometimes found strangely united, was a disposition to low pleasures and obscure debauchery. The wisest, or at least the most crafty sovereign of his time, he was fond of ordinary life, and, being himself a man of wit, enjoyed the jests and repartees of social conversation more than could have been expected from

other points of his character. He even mingled in the comic adventures of obscure intrigue, with a freedom scarce consistent with the habitual and guarded jealousy of his character; and was so fond of this species of humble gallantry, that he caused a number of its gay and licentious anecdotes to be enrolled in a collection well known to book collectors, in whose eyes (and the work is unfit for any other) the *right* edition is very precious.

By means of this monarch's powerful and prudent, though most unamiable character, it pleased Heaven, who works by the tempest as well as by the soft small rain, to restore to the great French nation the benefits of civil government, which, at the time of his accession, they had nearly lost altogether.

Ere he succeeded to the crown, Louis had given evidence of his vices rather than of his talents. His first wife, Margaret of Scotland, was "done to death by slanderous tongues" in her husband's court, where, without his encouragement, no word had been breathed against that amiable and injured princess. He had been an ungrateful and a rebellious son; at one time conspiring to seize his father's person, and at another levying open war against him. For the first he was banished to his appanage of Dauphiné, which he governed with much sagacity; for the second, he was driven into absolute exile, and forced to throw himself on the mercy, and almost the charity of the duke of Burgundy and his son, where he enjoyed hospitality, afterwards indifferently requited, until the death of his father in 1461.

In the very outset of his reign, Louis was almost overpowered by a league formed against him by the great vassals of France, with the Duke of Burgundy, or rather his son, the Count de Charalois, at its head. They levied a powerful army, blockaded Paris, fought a battle of doubtful event under its very walls, and put the French monarchy on the brink of actual destruction. It usually happens in such cases, that the most sagacious general of the two gains the real fruit, though perhaps not the martial fame, of the disputed field. Louis, who had shown great personal bravery during the battle of Montehery, was able, by his prudence, to avail himself of its undecided event, as if it had been a victory on his side. He temporized until the enemy had broken up their leagues, and showed so much dexterity in sowing jealousies among those great powers, that their alliance "for the public weal," as they termed it, but, in reality, for the overthrow of all but the external appearance of the French monarchy, broke to pieces, and was never again renewed in a manner so formidable. From this period, for several years, Louis, relieved of all danger from England, by the civil wars of York and Lancaster, was engaged, like an unfeeling but able physician, in curing the wounds of the body politic, or rather in stopping, now by gentle remedies, now by the use of fire and steel, the progress of those mortal gangrenes with which it was then infected. The *brigandage* of the free companies, and the unpunished oppressions of the nobility, he laboured to lessen, since he could not actually stop them; and gradually, by dint

of unrelaxed attention, he gained some addition to his own regal authority, or effected some diminution of those by whom it was counterbalanced.

Still the king of France was surrounded by doubt and danger. The members of the league "for the public weal," though not in unison, were in existence, and that scotched snake might reunite and become dangerous again. But a worse danger was the increasing power of the duke of Burgundy, then one of the greatest princes of Europe, and little diminished in rank by the very precarious dependence of his duchy upon the crown of France.

Charles, surnamed the Bold, or rather the Audacious, for his courage was allied to rashness and frenzy, then wore the ducal coronet of Burgundy, which he burned to convert into a royal and independent regal crown. The character of this duke was in every respect the direct contrast to that of Louis XI.

The former was calm, deliberate, and crafty, never prosecuting a desperate enterprise, and never abandoning a probable one, however distant the prospect of success. The genius of the duke was entirely different: he rushed on danger because he loved it, and on difficulties because he despised them. As Louis never sacrificed his interest to his passion, so Charles, on the other hand, never sacrificed his passions or even his humour to any other considerations. Notwithstanding the near relation that existed between them, and the support which the duke and his father had afforded to Louis in his exile when Dauphin, there was mutual contempt and hatred betwixt them. The duke of Burgundy despised

the cautious policy of the king, and imputed to the faintness of his courage, that he sought by leagues, purchases, and other indirect means, those advantages which, in his place, he would have snatched with an armed hand; and he hated him, not only for the ingratitude he had manifested for former kindness, and for personal injuries and imputations which the ambassadors of Louis had cast upon him, when his father was yet alive; but also, and especially, because of the support which he afforded in secret to the discontented citizens of Ghent, Liege, and other great towns in Flanders. These turbulent cities, jealous of their privileges, and proud of their wealth, frequently were in a state of insurrection against their liege lords the dukes of Burgundy, and never failed to find underhand countenance at the court of Louis, who embraced every opportunity of fomenting disturbance within the dominions of his overgrown vassal.

The contempt and hatred of the duke were retaliated by Louis with equal energy, though he used a thicker veil to conceal his sentiments. It was impossible for a man of his profound sagacity not to despise the stubborn obstinacy which never resigned its purpose, however fatal perseverance might prove, and the headlong impetuosity, which commenced its career, without allowing a moment's consideration for the obstacles to be encountered. Yet the king hated Charles even more than he contemned him; and his scorn and hatred were the more intense, as they were mingled with fear; for he knew that the onset of the mad bull, to whom he likened the duke of Burgundy, must ever be formidable.

though the animal makes it with shut eyes. It was not alone the wealth of the Burgundian provinces, the discipline of the warlike inhabitants, and the mass of their crowded population, which the king dreaded, for the personal qualities of their leaders had also much in them that was dangerous. The very soul of bravery, which he pushed to the verge of rashness, and beyond it—profuse in expenditure—splendid in his court, his person, and his retinue—in all which he displayed his hereditary magnificence of the house of Burgundy. Charles the Bold drew into his service almost all the fiery spirits of the age whose temper was congenial; and Louis saw too clearly what might be attempted and executed by such a train of desperate resolutes, following a leader of a character as ungovernable as their own.

There was yet another circumstance which increased the animosity of Louis towards his overgrown vassal; for he owed him favours which he never meant to repay, and was under the frequent necessity of temporizing with him, and even of enduring bursts of petulant insolence, injurious to the regal dignity, without being able to treat him as other than his “fair cousin of Burgundy.”

SIR WALTER SCOTT.

HENRY IV. OF FRANCE.

THE province of the historian may be said in some measure to stop with the narration of the circumstances attending the death of Henry IV. His character stands little in need of elucidation,

and less of panegyric. Whether we consider him as the conqueror of France, or whether we contemplate him in the more amiable light of the legislator and benefactor of his people, he equally excites our admiration. All the great qualities, which, during many years of adversity, were exhibited by the king of Navarre, acquired new lustre, and attained to full maturity on the throne of France. It may be reasonably doubted whether, in any age of the world, a prince has appeared among men, who united in himself more endowments of every kind. We must necessarily regret, but we cannot deny, that they were obscured by material faults and weaknesses. His licentious amours subverted his private felicity, produced public calamity, and were equally contrary to decency, morality, and religion. Nor was his passion for play less violent, though its effects, as confined to himself, were less injurious. We may see in Sully, and in Bassompierre, how much the rage of gaming, encouraged by his example, pervaded the capital and the court. His desire of amassing treasures, though it did not originate in avarice, yet induced him to encourage his ministers, particularly Sully, in exacting from his subjects contributions beyond their strength. The institution of the ‘ Paulette,’ which was a tax on the vacancy or resignation of all legal employments, excited general murmurs, and was productive of the most scandalous venality in the department of the law.

It excites astonishment to reflect that, in the space of only nine years, from the peace with Savoy to his death, he was able to extinguish almost all the domestic and foreign encumbrances

of the crown, which were immense ; and to lay up in the Bastile above a million sterling. So large a sum in specie could not have been taken out of the national circulation, without great injury to commercial transactions. He was accused, probably with reason, of yielding from his facility, to importunity, the rewards which only ought to have extended to merit, talents, and virtue. Like all princes who have been extricated by the efforts of a party, from a state of adversity and depression, the imputation of ingratitude was laid to his charge. It was said that he forgot and neglected his ancient adherents, in order to enrich and elevate his enemies. But it must be remembered, that he was compelled to purchase the submission of the heads of the league ; and we may doubt whether either his courage, his clemency, or his abjuration of the reformed religion, would have extinguished that powerful faction without the aid of money. Those who severely scrutinized his actions asserted that he winked and connived at acts of injustice in the tribunals of law ; where the judges found complete impunity, provided that in return they manifested a blind and implicit obedience to his edicts. There is, nevertheless, at least as much malignity as truth in the accusation.

If from his defects we turn our eyes to his virtues, we shall love and venerate his memory. His very name is almost become proverbial, to express the union of all that is elevated, amiable, and good in human nature. Such was his disdain of injuries, that it reached to heroism. The duke of Mayenne became his friend ; and the

young duke of Guise professed, and felt for him, the warmest degree of affectionate devotion. We know that he expressly ordered Vetry to receive into the company of body-guards, the soldier who had wounded him with a ball at the combat of Aumale. Henry pointed him out to Marshal D'Estrées, as the man mounted guard at the door of his coach. In the single instance of Biron, he remained inexorable; but it ought not to be forgotten that Biron was at once guilty and obdurate. Henry neither put him to death from personal resentment, nor from mere considerations of state policy. The last necessity alone induced him to refuse pardon to a man who aspired to independence, and whose projects were levelled at the succession in the house of Bourbon, as well as at the safety of the monarchy of France itself. Nothing can more strongly attest the fact, nor prove the repugnance with which he abandoned Biron to the sword of the law, than his answer to the noblemen who sued for the forgiveness of that criminal.

His affection towards the inferior classes of his subjects, and in particular towards the peasants, whom he cherished and protected, as the most necessary, but the most oppressed and injured description of his people, drew upon him the benedictions of the age in which he lived, and endeared him to posterity. He was neither ignorant, nor did he affect to be so, that he merited universal esteem. The sentiment involuntarily burst from him on various occasions. Only a few hours before he was assassinated, upon the morning of that day, as if by a secret

warning of his destiny, he said to the duke of Guise and to Bassompierre—" You do not know me now, but I shall die one of these days ; and when you have lost me you will know my worth, and the difference between me and other men." " The kings, my predecessors," said he on another occasion, addressing himself to the deputies of the clergy, " have given you splendid words ; but I, with my gray jacket, will give you effects. I am all gray without, but all gold within."

Educated in the field, and accustomed to fatigue, he delighted little in pursuits of literature ; but he was neither unacquainted with polite letters, nor deficient in extending a liberal protection to men of genius. Du Perron, Matthieu, Scaliger, Casaubon, Sponde, and a number of other eminent writers, received pensions from the treasury, or were raised by Henry to eminent honours and dignities. The love of glory, and the desire of honourable fame, as distinct from, and as opposed to that passion which we commonly denominate ambition, was the predominant feature of his character. Louis XIV. was perpetually and systematically occupied, during his long reign, in acts of wanton and unjust rapacity, in order to extend the frontiers of his dominions. Henry, on the contrary, proposed to become the arbiter of Europe, by his magnanimous moderation. We see in the memoirs of Sully, that he did not reserve a foot of land to augment France, from the conquests to be made by the vast confederacy, which he was on the point of putting into action when assassinated. Artois and French Flanders were to have been distributed in fiefs

to various individuals. Alsace, and the county of Burgundy, were destined for the Switzers, Roussillon and Cerdagne were left to Spain. All these provinces were gained by Richelieu or by Louis XIV. It is true that he projected to acquire Lorraine and the duchy of Savoy; but the former was in virtue of the marriage of the dauphin to a princess of Lorraine: the latter was only contingent, and in the event of Charles Emanuel remaining peaceable possessor of the Milanese.

If we would behold the portrait of Henry, drawn by himself, we may see it in one of his letters to the same minister Sully. It cannot be perused without emotions of pleasure. " Whenever," writes he, " the occasion shall present itself for executing those glorious designs which you well know that I have long projected, you shall find that I will rather quit my mistresses, hounds, gaming, buildings, banquets, and every other recreation, than let pass the opportunity of acquiring honour; the principal sources of which, after my duty to God, my wife, and my children, are to attain the reputation of a prince tenacious of his faith and word; and to perform actions at the end of my days, which shall immortalize and crown them with glory and honour." It is, nevertheless, an incontrovertible, though a melancholy fact, that he was neither known nor beloved during his life as he deserved. The intimate acquaintance which his contemporaries had with his infirmities and defects, together with the implacable animosity of the inveterate adherents of Spain and of the " league," tra-

duced his character, and aggravated all his faults. But time, the test of truth, has fully unveiled him to mankind ; and, after the lapse of near two centuries, posterity has justly assigned him one of the highest places among those, whom Providence in its bounty sometimes raises up for the felicity and ornament of the human race.

WRAXALL.

LOUIS XVI.

THUS fell Louis XVI. in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign ; and with him fell the monarchy of France, which, under three dynasties, had existed nearly fifteen centuries. So strong, at the time of his accession, was the general sentiment in his favour, that he was greeted with the title of Louis the Desired. Nor, though afterwards branded with every term of obloquy, did he ever merit the hatred of his subjects. In some measure he resembled our Charles I. ; to whose history he paid great attention. A comparison, however, of their conduct, when involved in difficulties, is highly favourable to the English sovereign. Charles maintained, with vigour and by arms, a contest of some years duration ; and, when at length overcome, still preserving his native dignity, uniformly refused to acknowledge the authority of that usurped jurisdiction by which he was arraigned. He lost his crown and life ; but he preserved inviolate the reputation of active courage and unconquerable spirit. Louis may, perhaps with more

propriety, be compared to the sixth Henry. With greater abilities than Henry, he had, in some parts of his character and situation, a strong similarity to that monarch. Both were pious; both, diffident of themselves, and therefore easily swayed by others, espoused princesses of elevated minds; both were driven from their thrones by rebellion; and both perished by an untimely death.

The understanding of Louis was much above mediocrity; he had acquired a vast fund of knowledge by reading; his memory was remarkably tenacious; and his judgment, in arranging, combining, and applying what his memory had retained, was often displayed in a manner that was highly creditable to him. On the relative state and interest of France and the European powers, his information was by no means inconsiderable. History and geography were two of his favourite studies. To the former he paid much attention; and such was his proficiency in the latter, that the detailed instructions to the ill fated navigator, Perouse, were drawn up by his own hand: he was, indeed, supposed to be the best geographer in his kingdom. With some of the mechanical arts he was also well acquainted, and even occasionally practised them.

In his moral conduct he was unimpeachable. Just, beneficent; a good husband, a good father, and a lover of his people, he would, had he lived in an age less turbulent, when the higher talents are not required in a ruler, have done honour to a throne. But he did not satisfy himself with mere morality, which, when unsupported

by religion, is little to be depended upon. His piety too was exemplary. The faith in which he and his ancestors had been educated, he followed with sincerity and warmth, but without any mixture of ill directed and uncharitable zeal. On the mercy and goodness of the Deity he relied with an unfeigned confidence. That reliance afforded him consolation in the latter stormy period of his reign, and fortitude in the hour of death. It enabled him to triumph over slander, captivity, and the grave.

But, numerous as his virtues certainly were, there was one master fault which ran through and vitiated the whole of his conduct. He wanted that firmness and decision, without which the greatest virtues are sometimes worse than useless. A monarch should know as well how to make himself feared as loved. In vulgar minds mere affection soon degenerates into something bordering upon contempt. His lawful orders can never be disobeyed or slighted without prejudice to himself. Louis yielded at those very moments when he should most rigorously have enforced obedience; when he should fully have asserted his authority, or have abandoned life and authority together. Passive courage he possessed; but not active.

Yet even this had its rise in a fault; but it was a fault of so amiable a nature that it can hardly be censured without pain. It arose from the extreme horror which he always felt of shedding human blood. Looking, however, to the high situation in which they are placed, and the high purposes for which they hold that situation,

sovereigns ought to consult not their feelings, but their duties. Blind and indiscriminate mercy is, in its effects, the worst of cruelties. Humanity itself imperiously commands the punishment of those who wantonly and wickedly violate the laws on which social order is founded ; and by giving a loose to the most violent passions of man, reduce him to a state of worse than savage nature ; since it has all the bad qualities of savage existence, without any of its virtues. The monarch is the guardian of the state ; and the safety of the state is put to hazard, when traitors are allowed to conspire with impunity. Nor will the king who tolerates treason long remain a king.

The unfortunate Louis fell a victim to his ignorance of this truth. In his fall he drew down the greatest evils not only upon his country, but also upon a considerable part of Europe. That clemency, which he so injudiciously showed to rebellious subjects, cost the lives of the bravest, the wisest, and noblest characters of the time in which they lived ; covered France with scaffolds and blood ; shook, to their foundations, some of the oldest established governments ; and involved others in total destruction. His fate will operate as a lesson to all sovereigns, to extinguish, with a decided hand, the first embers of sedition ; and happy will it be for mankind, if the caution thus inspired does not, sooner or later, degenerate into a gloomy and suspicious tyranny, which, under the pretence of resisting innovation, may discourage all reform, and strike the safest and most deadly blows at the very existence of free-

dom itself. History, while it ranks Louis with those who were worthy of being enrolled among saints and martyrs, must lament that he lived in an age, and among a people, when all the vigorous talents of a Henry IV. would not have been more than sufficient to preserve unimpaired the dignity of the sovereign, and, by that dignity, the peace and welfare of his subjects.

R. A. DAVENPORT.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE.

OF Napoleon Buonaparte the historian, in a succeeding generation, will record; that, with extraordinary intellect to discern and to combine, he possessed a mind, strong, ardent, comprehensive, and sublime, which could soar and stoop, at once capacious of immensity and submitting to vulgar limitation: that his virtues were many and illustrious; his vices few, but fatally pernicious; that he betrayed the trust which was reposed in him, and crushed the cause by which he had been elevated: that he bartered the solid greatness, within his grasp, for a specious bauble which escaped from it; and, when he might have been a Washington at the head of Europe, preferred to be a Cromwell for the puerilities of royalty: that he was the friend of toleration, the patron of the arts and sciences, a usurper, with whose prosperity his country flourished, and by whose ruin alone she was oppressed: that he lived to demonstrate the vanity of regal alliances; to be proscribed by monarchs who were indebted

to his generosity for their thrones: to inflict a deeper wound on the fair fame of Britain, by his vain appeal to her magnanimity in his distress, than he had been able as a conqueror to inflict on it with his sword: that he lived, in short, to give an awful lesson to mankind on the inadequate compensation of power for violated principle; and on the instability of greatness not rising from the base of justice, how loftily soever the column may tower, and though it may be upheld by the force of armies, embraced by the majesty of kings, and crowned by the holiness of popes.

DR. SYMMONS.

PETRARCH.

IN the apprehension of modern times, Petrarch is the Italian songster of Laura and love. In the harmony of his Tuscan rhymes, Italy applauds, or rather adores the father of her lyric poetry; and his verse, or at least his name, is repeated by the enthusiasm or affectation of amorous sensibility. Whatever may be the private taste of a stranger, his slight and superficial knowledge should humbly acquiesce in the taste of a learned nation: yet I may hope or presume, that the Italians do not compare the tedious uniformity of sonnets and elegies with the sublime compositions of their epic muse, the original wildness of Dante, the regular beauties of Tasso, and the boundless variety of the incomparable Ariosto. The merits of the lover I am still less qualified to appreciate; nor am I deeply inter-

ested in a metaphysical passion for a nymph so shadowy, that her existence has been questioned; for a matron so prolific, that she was delivered of eleven legitimate children, while her amorous swain sighed and sung at the fountain of Vaucluse. But in the eyes of Petrarch, and those of his graver contemporaries, his love was a sin, and Italian verse a frivolous amusement. His Latin works of philosophy, poetry, and eloquence, established his serious reputation, which was soon diffused from Avignon over France and Italy: his friends and disciples were multiplied in every city; and if the ponderous volume of his writings be now abandoned to a long repose, our gratitude must applaud the man, who, by precept and example, revived the spirit and study of the Augustan age. From his earliest youth, Petrarch aspired to the poetic crown. The academical honours of the three faculties had introduced a royal degree of doctor or master in the art of poetry; and the title of poet laureat, which custom, rather than vanity, perpetuates in the English court, was first invented by the Cæsars of Germany. In the musical games of antiquity, a prize was bestowed on the victor: the belief that Virgil and Horace had been crowned in the Capitol inflamed the emulation of a Latin bard; and the laurel was endeared to the lover by a verbal resemblance with the name of his mistress. The value of either object was enhanced by the difficulties of the pursuit; and if the virtue or prudence of Laura was inexorable, he enjoyed, and might boast of enjoying, the nymph of poetry. His vanity was not of the most delicate kind,

since he applauds the success of his own labours ; his name was popular ; his friends were active ; the open or secret opposition of envy and prejudice was surmounted by the dexterity of patient merit. In the thirty-sixth year of his age, he was solicited to accept the object of his wishes ; and on the same day, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he received a similar and solemn invitation from the senate of Rome and the university of Paris. The learning of a theological school, and the ignorance of a lawless city, were alike unqualified to bestow the ideal though immortal wreath which genius may obtain from the free applause of the public and of posterity ; but the candidate dismissed this troublesome reflection ; and after some moments of complacency and suspense, preferred the summons of the metropolis of the world.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed in the Capitol by his friend and patron, the supreme magistrate of the republic. Twelve patrician youths were arrayed in scarlet ; six representatives of the most illustrious families, in green robes, with garlands of flowers, accompanied the procession : in the midst of the princes and nobles, the senator, count of Anguillera, a kinsman of the Colonna, assumed his throne, and, at the voice of a herald, Petrarch arose. After discoursing on a text of Virgil, and thrice repeating his vows for the prosperity of Rome, he knelt before the throne, and received from the senator a laurel crown, with a more precious declaration—"This is the reward of merit." The people shouted, "Long life to the Capitol and

the poet!" A sonnet in praise of Rome was accepted as the effusion of genius and gratitude; and after the whole procession had visited the Vatican, the profane wreath was suspended before the shrine of St. Peter. In the act or diploma, which was presented to Petrarch, the title and prerogatives of poet laureat are revived on the capitol, after the lapse of thirteen hundred years; and he receives the perpetual privilege of wearing, at his choice, a crown of laurel, ivy, or myrtle, of assuming the poetic habit, and of teaching, disputing, interpreting, and composing, in all places whatsoever, and on all subjects of literature. The grant was ratified by the authority of the senate and people; and the character of citizen was the recompense of his affection for the Roman name. They did him honour, but they did him justice. In the familiar society of Cicero and Livy, he had imbibed the ideas of an ancient patriot; and his ardent fancy kindled every idea to a sentiment, and every sentiment to a passion. The aspect of the seven hills and their majestic ruins confirmed these lively impressions; and he loved a country by whose liberal spirit he had been crowned and adopted. The poverty and debasement of Rome excited the indignation and pity of her faithful son: he dissembled the faults of his fellow citizens; applauded with partial fondness the last of their heroes and matrons; and in the remembrance of the past, in the hope of the future, was pleased to forget the miseries of the present time.

GIBBON.

ERASMUS.

IF we consider the character of Erasmus we shall be immediately struck with his extensive erudition, and that heightened by two circumstances : 1. That he was scarcely ever fixed six months in a place (excepting at Basil) ; that to this wandering life, which deprived him both of books and leisure, must be added, a continued bad state of health, and the constant avocation of a vast correspondence. 2. That his learning was all real, and founded on the accurate perusal of the ancient authors. The numerous editions he published sufficiently evince it ; and besides, those convenient compilations of all sorts, where a modern author can learn to be a profound scholar at a very small expense, did not then exist ; every thing was to be sought for in the originals themselves. But besides this learning, which was common to many, Erasmus possessed a genius without which no writer will ever descend to posterity ; a genius which could see through the vain subtleties of the schools, revive the laws of criticism, treat every subject with eloquence and delicacy ; sometimes emulate the ancients, often imitate them, and never copy them. As to his morals, they had the poor merit of being regular. In the nobler part of his character I find him very deficient. Delicacy of sentiment he had none. A parasite of all the great men of his time, he was neither ashamed to magnify their characters by the lowest adulation, nor to debase his own by the most impudent solicitations to obtain presents

which very often he did not want. The adventure of Eppendorf is another proof how much dearer his money was to him than his character. Notwithstanding these faults, never man enjoyed a greater personal consideration. All the scholars, and all the princes of Europe, looked upon him as an oracle. Even Charles V. and Francis I. agreed in this. If we inquire why this happened to him rather than to some other great men, of a merit equal, and perhaps superior to Erasmus, we must say that it was owing to the time when he lived ; when the world awaking from a sleep of a thousand years, all orders of men applied themselves to letters with an enthusiasm which produced in them the highest esteem and veneration for one of their principal restorers. Besides, as the general attention from piety, from curiosity, from vanity, and from interest, was directed towards the religious disputes, a great divine was the fashionable character ; and all parties endeavoured to attract or preserve him. But to which of those parties did Erasmus adhere ? His writings, and even his conduct, were often equivocal. The Catholics claim him, though they acknowledge that he was often indiscreet. Le Clerc challenges him for the Protestants, though he blames him for not professing what he knew to be the truth ; and attributes his reserve solely to timidity and self-interest. Erasmus had certainly exposed all the grosser superstitions of the Romish worship to the ridicule of the public ; and had his free opinion been taken, I believe that he was a Protestant upon most of the contested points. But many other motives might restrain him from a declara-

tion. He was always persuaded that any speculative truths were dearly purchased at the expense of practical virtue and public peace. Besides, many considerations might often make him balance as to those truths ; prejudices of education, the authority of the fathers, and a natural inclination to scepticism. Add to all this, that really disapproving many things in the Protestant communion, though more in the Romish, by remaining in the loose situation of a man who was unwilling to quit the religion of his ancestors, he could blame many things in it with freedom ; whereas, had he deserted it, he must either have set up a standard himself, or else have enlisted blindly under that of Luther or *AECO Campudius*. It is surprising that Erasmus, who could see through much more plausible fables, believed firmly in witchcraft.

GIBBON.

LEIBNITZ.

THE genius and studies of Leibnitz have ranked his name with the first philosophic names of his age and country ; but his reputation, perhaps, would be more pure and permanent, if he had not ambitiously grasped the whole circle of human science. As a theologian, he successively contended with the sceptics, who believe too little, and with the papists, who believe too much, and with the heretics, who believe otherwise than is inculcated by the Lutheran confession of Augsburg. Yet the philosopher betrayed his love of union and toleration : his faith in revelation was accused, while he proved the Trinity by the prin-

ciples of logic ; and in the defence of the attributes and providence of the Deity, he was suspected of a secret correspondence with his adversary Bayle. The metaphysician expatiated on the fields of air : his preestablished harmony of the soul and body might have provoked the jealousy of Plato ; and his optimism, the best of all possible worlds, seems an idea too vast for a mortal mind. He was a *physician* in the large and genuine sense of the word : like his brethren, he amused himself with creating a globe ; and his *Protogaea*, or Primitive Earth, has not been useless to the last hypothesis of Buffon, which prefers the agency of fire to that of water. I am not worthy to praise the *mathematician* : but his name is mingled in all the problems and discoveries of the times ; the masters of the art were his rivals and disciples : and if he borrowed from Sir Isaac Newton the sublime method of fluxions, Leibnitz was at least the Prometheus who imparted to mankind the sacred fire which he had stolen from the gods. His curiosity extended to every branch of chymistry, mechanics, and the arts ; and the thirst of knowledge was always accompanied with the spirit of improvement. The vigour of his youth had been exercised in the schools of *jurisprudence* ; and while he taught, he aspired to reform, the laws of nature and nations, of Rome and Germany. The annals of Brunswick, of the empire, of the ancient and modern world, were present to the mind of the *historian* ; and he could turn from the solution of a problem to the dusty parchments and barbarous style of the records of the middle age. His genius was more nobly directed to investigate the origin

of language and nations ; nor could he assume the character of a *grammarian* without forming the project of a universal idiom and alphabet. These various studies were often interrupted by the occasional *politiar* of the times ; and his pen was always ready in the cause of the princes and patrons to whose service he was attached : many hours were consumed in a learned correspondence with all Europe : and the philosopher amused his leisure in the composition of French and Latin poetry. Such an example may display the extent and powers of the human understanding, but even *his* powers were dissipated by the multitude of his pursuits. He attempted more than he could finish ; he designed more than he could execute ; his imagination was too easily satisfied with a bold and rapid glance on the subject which he was impatient to leave ; and Leibnitz may be compared to those heroes, whose empire has been lost in the ambition of universal conquest.

GIBBON.

BAYLE.

BAYLE was the son of a Calvinist minister in a remote province in France, at the foot of the Pyrenees. For the benefit of education, the Protestants were tempted to risk their children in the Catholic universities ; and in the twenty-second year of his age, young Bayle was seduced by the arts and arguments of the jesuits of Thoulouse. He remained about seventeen months (March 19, 1699—August 19, 1670) in their hands, a voluntary captive ; and a letter to his parents, which

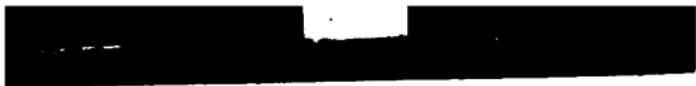
the new convert composed or subscribed (April 15, 1670) is darkly tinged with the spirit of popery. But Nature had designed him to think as he pleased, and to speak as he thought: his piety was offended by the excessive worship of creatures; and the study of physics convinced him of the impossibility of transubstantiation, which is abundantly refuted by the evidence of our senses. His return to the communion of a falling sect was a bold and disinterested step, that exposed him to the rigour of the laws; and a speedy flight to Geneva protected him from the resentment of his spiritual tyrants, unconscious as they were of the full value of the prize which they had lost. Had Bayle adhered to the Catholic church, had he embraced the ecclesiastical profession, the genius and favour of such a proselyte might have aspired to wealth and honours in his native country: but the hypocrite would have found less happiness in the comforts of a benefice, or the dignity of a mitre, than he enjoyed at Rotterdam in a private state of exile, indigence, and freedom. Without a country, or a patron, or a prejudice, he claimed the liberty and subsisted by the labours of his pen: the inequality of his voluminous works is explained and excused by his alternately writing for himself, for the booksellers, and for posterity; and if a severe critic would reduce him to a single folio, that relic, like the books of the Sibyl, would become still more valuable. A calm and lofty spectator of the religious tempest, the philosopher of Rotterdam condemned with equal firmness the persecution of Louis the Fourteenth and the republican maxims of the Calvinists; their vain prophecies,

and the intolerant bigotry which sometimes vexed his solitary retreat. In reviving the controversies of the times, he turned against each other the arguments of the disputants ; successively wield- ing the arms of the Catholics and Protestants, he proves that neither the way of authority, nor the way of examination can afford the multitude any test of religious truth ; and dexterously concludes that custom and education must be the sole grounds of popular belief. The ancient paradox of Plutarch, that atheism is less pernicious than super- stition, acquires a tenfold vigour, when it is adorned with the colours of his wit, and pointed with the acuteness of his logic. His Critical Dic- tionary is a vast repository of facts and opinions ; and he balances the *false* religions in his sceptical scales, till the opposite quantities (if I may use the language of algebra) annihilate each other. The wonderful power which he so boldly exercised, of assembling doubts and objections, had tempted him jocosely to assume the title of the *νεφελωτε-*
ςτα Ζευς, the cloud-compelling Jove ; and in a conversation with the ingenious Abbé (afterwards Cardinal) de Polignac, he freely disclosed his universal Pyrrhonism. “ I am most truly (said Bayle) a Protestant ; for I protest indifferently against all systems and all sects.” GIBBON.



END OF VOL. II.

C. & C. WHITTINGHAM, Chiswick.



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